THE

WORKS

OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

WITH

NOTES, HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL.

BY T. SMOLLETT, M.D.

T. FRANCKLIN, M.A. AND OTHERS.

IN TWENTY-FOUR VOLUMES.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
AU 17
1912
CAMBRIDGE

VOLUME XIV.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY S. POWELL,

FOR R. MONCRIEFFE IN CAPEL-STREET.

M,DCC,LXXII.

D U B L I N:

THE

CONTENTS

OF THE

FOURTEENTH VOLUME.

PART II.

CONTINUED.

Page

WRITERS in the Age of LEWIS XIV. 1

General View of Europe, after the Death of Lewis XIV. 10

The War in Germany. An Elector of Brandenbourgh alone oppoſes the Houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, and the Empires of Germany and Ruſſia. Memorable Events. 38

Continuation of memorable Events. The Engliſh Army obliged to capitulate. The Affair of Roſbach. Revolutions 45

The Engliſh victorious in the four Quarters of the World 50

The interior Government of France. Diſputes and Encounters from the year 1750 *to the year* 1762 56

CONTENTS.

Plot, to assassinate the King of Portugal. The Jesuits driven out of that Kingdom, and great part of France 76

Of a remarkable Circumstance, relating to Literature 82

Conclusions and Review of this Historical Portrait 85

Historical Tracts. Of the Jews 103

Of the Age of Constantine and Julian 118

Of Diocletian 122

Of Constantine 130

Of Julian 136

Micromegas. CHAP. I. *A Voyage to the Planet Saturn, by an Inhabitant of the Star Sirius.* 145

CHAP. II.

The Conversation between Micromegas and the Inhabitant of Saturn 149

CHAP. III.

The Voyage of those two Inhabitants of the other World 152

CHAP. IV.

What befel them upon this our Globe 154

CHAP. V. 157

CHAP. VI.

What happened in their Intercourse with Men 159

CHAP. VII.

A Conversation that passed between our Travellers and the Men they had encountered 163

Zadig; or Fate. An Oriental History. And, the World as it goes, The Vision of Babouc. Written by himself 169

The

CONTENTS.

The Blind of One Eye 173

The Noſe 177

The Dog and the Horſe 179

The Envious Man 183

The Generous 189

The Miniſter 191

The Diſputes and the Audiences 194

Jealouſy 197

The Woman beaten 202

Slavery 205

The Funeral Pile 208

The Supper 211

The Rendezvous 215

The Robber 218

The Fiſherman 222

The Baſiliſk 225

The Combats 233

The Hermit 238

The Ænigma's 244

The World as it Goes: The Viſion of Babouc 249

Of the Alcoran, and of Mahomet 269

On the Management of public Shows 275

A Diſſertation by Doctor Akakia, Phyſician to the Pope 280

Decree

CONTENTS.

Decree of the Inquisition of Rome 285

Judgment of the Professors of the College of Wisdom 286

Examination of the Letters of a young Author disguised under the Name of a President 287

Of the Doctrine of Genii &c. 293

Of Astrology 296

Of Magic 298

Of People possessed by Evil Spirits 301

Of Ovid 302

Of Socrates 311

Examination of the Political Testameat of Cardinal Alberoni 315

ADDI-

ADDITIONS

TO THE

ESSAY on GENERAL HISTORY,

AND

The Manners and Spirit of Nations, from CHARLEMAGNE to the preſent Time.

1912 CAMBRIDGE

PART II.

CONTINUED.

WRITERS in the Age of LEWIS XIV.

After the Article BAYLE.

Vol. VII. ch. 214. SOME perſons attempted a continuation of his dictionary, but could not come up to the original. They falſely imagined that nothing more was required than compilation; but they found, that the genius and dialectic knowledge of Bayle was neceſſary to whoſoever ſhould attempt to work after him.

After the Article LA BRUIERE.

Ibid.] What he ſays at the end of his book againſt the atheiſts is greatly admired; but when he pretends to meddle with divinity, he is even below the divines themſelves.

After the Article DESMARETS, &c.

DESTOUCHES (*Nericaut*), after having written ſeveral comedies, was for a long time *charge d'affaires* from the court of France to London, and having diſcharged this office with reputation, he returned to his former avocation of writing plays. His pieces have not the ſame energy and ſpritelineſs as thoſe of Regnard; nor do they furniſh us with ſuch lively pictures of the human heart: they have not that true natural humour, that excellent comic colouring, which makes the diſtinguiſhing merit of the inimitable Moliere; and yet he has preſerved the next place to himſelf, after theſe two authors. There are ſome pieces of his which have met with great ſucceſs, though the humour in them appears rather too much forced. He has been at leaſt happy enough to avoid that whining kind of comedy, or rather low tragedy, which is indeed neither tragedy nor comedy, but a monſtrous production, which took place after the age of Lewis XIV. and was owing partly to a want of capacity in the writers, and partly to a diſordered taſte in the public after theſe golden days of literature. The comedy of *le Glorieux*, or the *Boaſter*, is one of the beſt performances, and bids fair to keep poſſeſſion of the ſtage, though ſome will have it, that the character of the *Glorieux* is not well filled: however, the other characters are undoubtedly admirably finiſhed.

FONTENELLE.

Ibid. HE ſuffered a kind of literary perſecution for having maintained, that in many reſpects the moderns were equal to the antients. Racine and Boileau, though, in ſome meaſure, intereſted that Fontenelle ſhould be in the right, affected to deſpiſe him; and for a conſiderable time kept the doors of the academy ſhut againſt him. They wrote ſeveral epigrams

epigrams upon him, and he upon them, and they were a conſiderable time at open enmity.

* * *

Ibid.] His hiſtory of Oracles, which is a very moderate and decent abridgment of the great hiſtory of Vandalis, drew upon him more violent enemies than either Racine or Boileau. Two compilers of the lives of the ſaints, Pabebroke and Bolandus, Flemiſh jeſuits, and a third named Baltus, who were compilers in the literal ſenſe of the word, wrote after their manner againſt the reaſonable opinions of Vandalis and Fontenelle. The Pariſian philoſopher was not at the pains to anſwer them; but the learned Baſnage, a Dutch philoſopher, took upon him to refute their abſurdities, and the compilers were no longer read. Several years afterwards, the jeſuit Le Tellier, confeſſor to Lewis XIV. and the unhappy author of all thoſe diſputes which have produced ſo much evil and contempt in France, repreſented Fontenelle to his royal penitent as an atheiſt. Mark René de Paulini, marquis of Argenſon, at that time lieutenant of the police, and afterwards keeper of the ſeals, warded off the perſecution, which was on the point of falling heavy on Fontenelle, as that philoſopher acknowledges with gratitude, in his panegyric on Mr. Argenſon, pronounced by him in the academy of ſciences.

Article of GEDOUIN.

Ibid. HE entered into the ſociety of the Jeſuits when fifteen years old, and left it when he came to a riper age. He was ſo paſſionate an admirer of the good authors of antiquity, that he was willing to forgive them their religion in favour of the beauties of their writings, and their mythology. He diſcovered in their fables an admirable ſyſtem of natural philoſophy, and the moſt ſtriking emblems of all the opera-

tions of the deity. He was of opinion, that the underſtandings of mankind in general have been greatly confined ſince their time, and that the more exalted ſpirit of poetry and eloquence diſappeared with the Greek mythology. According to him the famous Paradiſe Loſt of Milton is a barbarous, enthuſiaſtic, gloomy and unpleaſing poem, in which the devil is perpetually oppoſing and inveighing againſt the Saviour of mankind. He wrote four very curious diſſertations on this ſubject, which the learned are in hopes to ſee ere long in print.

Article of Count HAMILTON.

Ibid. HIS memoirs of the count de Grammont are models of ſpritely converſation, rather than that of a book. The chief character of the hero of his piece, ſeems to be that of one who cheats his friends at play, is himſelf cheated by his own ſervant, and breaks a few jeſts upon other people's conduct and affairs.

Article of HELVETIUS.

Ibid. THIS man was father of a true philoſopher, who gave up the place of farmer-general of the king's revenues, to follow the ſtudy of the belles lettres, and who ſhared the fate of moſt philoſophers, that of being perſecuted for their writings and their virtues.

At the End of the Article of LA MOTTE HOUDART.

Ibid. IT is poſſible, after all, that *Saurin* might have been the author of the ſtanzas imputed to *Rouſſeau*; and though this latter was proved to have written the five firſt, which were equally ſevere, yet

Saurin

Saurin might have added the two laſt in order to ruin him, though there was no rivalſhip between theſe two writers; and though Saurin had been for a long time buſied in algebraic calculations, and was himſelf moſt cruelly handled in theſe two ſtanzas; and though all the injured parties unanimouſly charged Rouſſeau with them, and that Saurin was acquitted by a ſolemn decree: all this, I ſay, is within the bounds of poſſibility; but moſt certainly it exceeds all probability. Rouſſeau indeed accuſed him with it to the end of his life, and even continued the charg in his laſt will; but profeſſor Rollin, to whom Rouſſeau ſhewed his will at the time that he came privately to Paris, obliged him to ſcratch out this accuſation: and Rouſſeau contented himſelf with proteſting his own innocence, even on his death-bed, but never dared to accuſe La Motte, either during the courſe of the law ſuit, during the remainder of his own life, or in his laſt moments; but confined himſelf to writing verſes againſt him. (See the article *Joſeph Saurin*).

After the Article NICOLE.

Ibid. NIVELLE LA CHAUSSE'E. He has written ſome comedies in a new and affecting manner, which have had ſucceſs. It is certain however that he wanted the true comic genius, ſo eſſential to this kind of production. There are many perſons of taſte, who cannot ſuffer comedies in which there are not ſtrokes of pleaſantry and humour; but there is nevertheleſs no ſmall degree of merit in knowing how to touch the heart, to treat morality in a pleaſing manner, and to write verſe with elegance and purity; and herein our author particularly excels. He was born during the reign of Lewis XIV. and died in the year 1750.

At the End of the Article ROUSSEAU.

Ibid. THERE is neither richneſs, beauty, ſentiment, nor invention in Rouſſeau's writings; he was very happy at turning an injurious epigram, or a looſe ſtanza. His epiſtles are written with a pen of ſteel dipped in the moſt offenſive gall. He ſtiles the daughters of Mr. Louvancourt, who were the truly amiable ſiſters, a *leaſh of hungry ſhe-wolves*; and Rouillé, a counſellor of ſtate, *a ſnarling venomous boorish mountebank*, after having laviſhed a heap of fulſome praiſes on him in a very indifferent ode. The expreſſions of *Booby*, *Puppy*, and *Scoundrel*, in theſe epiſtles; are ſuch as would diſgrace any writings. It is doubtleſs the mark of a noble mind to oppoſe our enemies with becoming courage; but ſuch low abuſe, without even the merit of pleaſantry, rather beſpeaks a baſe and ignoble ſoul.

For the ſtanzas which occaſioned him to be baniſhed, ſee the articles La Motte and Saurin in the 9th Vol. of this work.

I ſhall here content myſelf with obſerving, that Rouſſeau, by acknowledging himſelf the author of four of theſe unlucky ſtanzas, incurred the guilt of having written all the others, both in the opinion of his judges, and that of every man of honour and underſtanding. His behaviour after his ſentence was far from being a proof in his favour, and I have in my hands letters from the Sieur Medine, of Bruſſels, dated May 7, 1737, wherein that gentleman thus expreſſes himſelf, "Rouſſeau had no other table than "mine, no other aſylum but my houſe; he took me "in his arms an hundred times, with all poſſible ex"preſſions of gratitude, the very day that he perſuad"ed my creditors to arreſt me."

Add to this a pilgrimage which Rouſſeau made to our lady of Hall, and then let any one judge whether he is a perſon to be credited on his own bare word in relation to the ſtanzas in queſtion.

At

At the End of the Article DE LA RUE.

Ibid. HE has left ſeveral tragedies and comedies of his writing. The tragedy of Sylla was offered to the players and refuſed by them. He is thought to have wrote a great part of the Adrianne. He was very intimately connected with the famous player Baron, of whom he learned to declaim. There were two ſermons of his, the one called *the Dying Sinner*, and the other *the Dead Sinner*, which were ſo much admired that they were wont to be adverti ſed every time he was to preach them.

After the Article JAMES SAURIN.

Ibid. SAURIN (*Joſeph*) was born in the neighbourhood of Orange in the year 1659. He was a member of the academy of ſciences, and a perſon of an univerſal genius: we have nothing of his except ſome extracts from the *Journal des Sçavans*, ſome mathematical memoirs, and the noted *Factum* againſt Rouſſeau. This piece, ſo unhappily famous, made him enemies for the reſt of his life, and ſubjected him to the moſt infamous accuſations. Rouſſeau, during his retreat in Swiſſerland, having come to the knowledge that his adverſary had been a paſtor of the reformed church at Bercher in the Bailiwick of Iverdun, uſed every poſſible means to procure witneſſes againſt him. You muſt know that Joſeph Saurin, having taken a diſtaſte to the miniſterial function, and being addicted to philoſophy and the mathematics, preferred his native country France, the city of Paris, and the academy of ſciences, to living in the village of Bercher. In order to compaſs his deſign, he returned again into the boſom of the Romiſh church, and made his recantation in the year 1690. Boſſuet, biſhop of Meaux, thought he had converted a paſtor, whereas he was only an inſtrument of the private views of a philoſopher. Saurin made a journey to Swiſſerland ſeveral years afterwards,

in order to gather in ſome monies due to his wife whom he had perſuaded to embrace the Catholic religion at the ſame time with himſelf. The magiſtrates of the place ordered him to be ſeized as an apoſtate prieſt who had made his wife an apoſtate as well as himſelf. This happened in the year 1712, after Rouſſeau's fatal affair, and Rouſſeau himſelf was at Soleure juſt at that time. It was then that the moſt diſgraceful accuſations appeared againſt Saurin. He was charged with crimes that deſerved the halter; there was a letter produced againſt him ſaid to be written by himſelf many years before, in which he had made a full confeſſion of all his crimes to a miniſter of his acquaintance. In fine, to crown his ſhame and to brand him with perpetual ignominy, his adverſaries had the mean cruelty to print theſe accuſations, together with this very letter, in ſeveral journals in the ſupplement to Bayle's dictionary, and that of Morei. This was a new method induſtriouſly invented to diſgrace a man in the opinion of all Europe. It is ſtrangely debaſing literature to make a dictionary the regiſter of crimes, and to ſully, with the moſt abuſive reflections, works that are deſigned to be the repoſitories of ſcience. It was certainly contrary to the original intention of the firſt authors of theſe archives of learning, that they ſhould become the propogators of ſcandal and falſities. The art of writing is in ſeveral countries made an infamous traffic, by which bookſellers, who can ſcarcely read, pay ſo much per ſheet for falſities to a ſet of hireling ſcribblers, who have made literature the vileſt of all profeſſions. I have had an opportunity by being on the ſpot, to examine nicely into the validity of the accuſations publiſhed againſt Joſeph Saurin. I have ſpoken in perſon to the lord of the manor of Berches, where Saurin was miniſter. I have interrogated every individual of the family of this gentleman, who, as well as the lord himſelf, declared to me with one accord, that they had never ſeen the letter charged upon Saurin, and all joined in expreſſing the higheſt indignation at the ſcandalous abuſe inſerted in the ſupplement above-mentioned; and this may be ſufficient

ficient to engage every man of candour and probity to treat the ſtory as it deſerves.

Joſeph Saurin died in 1737, like an intrepid philoſopher, who was perfectly ſenſible of the nothingneſs of all worldly matters, and was filled with a juſt contempt for all the idle prejudices, diſputes, and errors, which add a freſh weight to the already numberleſs miſeries of human life.

He has left behind him a ſon of real merit, who is author of a tragedy called *Spartacus*, in which there are ſtrokes equal to the moſt nervous and admired in Corneille.

At the End of the Chapter of celebrated Artiſts.

Vol. VII. ch. 215. THE work of the Encyclopedia was begun by Meſſieurs d'Alembert and Diderot, in ſpite of the oppoſition and perſecution that every great or uſeful undertaking always meets with from envy and ignorance. It is to be wiſhed, that ſome foreign hands had not diſfigured this important work by puerile declamations, and inſipid common place; notwithſtanding which, it muſt be acknowledged to be of the greateſt utility to mankind.

GENERAL VIEW OF EUROPE,

AFTER THE DEATH of LEWIS XIV.

Beginning of the CHAPTER.

Vol. VI. ch. 187. WE have given a pretty extenſive idea of the age of Lewis XIV. the age of great men of the fine arts and of politeneſs; it was marked indeed, like all others, with calamities, public and private; calamities which are inſeparably annexed to human nature: but, at the ſame time every bleſſing that could comfort mankind under the wretchedneſs of their weak and frail condition, ſeems to have been laviſhed on them in this age. Let us now take a review of the times that followed this reign, which was ſo turbulent in its beginning, ſo brilliant and illuſtrious for the ſpace of fifty years, which was afterwards daſhed with ſuch a mixture of great misfortunes, and ſome little ſucceſs; and which finally terminated in a deep gloom, after having been uſhered in by turbulence and faction.

End

End of the Chapter concerning Law and his Syſtem.

Vol. VI. ch. 188. THE world ſtill ſpeaks with aſtoniſhment of theſe times of infatuation and political abuſe; but how inconſiderable was this ſcourge, in compariſon of the civil wars, and thoſe on account of religion, which ſo long drenched Europe in blood, and thoſe between nation and nation, or rather between prince and prince, which ſtill continue to lay waſte ſo many countries. The whole affair was, that there were impoſtors at London and Rotterdam who made dupes of unthinking people.

To begin the Chapter, intitled, Continuation of the General View of EUROPE till the Year 1756.

Vol. VI. ch. 199. WE muſt not paſs over unnoticed the adminiſtration of cardinal Dubois. This man was the ſon of an apothecary of Brive le Gaillarde, a town in the government of Auvergne. His firſt riſe in life was being choſen preceptor to the duke of Orleans, and afterwards, by being the complaiſant inſtrument to the pleaſures of his pupil, he became his confident; a middling ſhare of wit, a great ſtock of libertiniſm, the moſt ſubmiſſive adulation, but chiefly his maſter's fondneſs for ſingularity, gained him an immenſe fortune. Had this cardinal prime miniſter been a man of ſerious character, his ſudden riſe would have excited indignation, whereas it only cauſed ridicule and contempt. The duke of Orleans himſelf made a jeſt of him, and in this reſembled the pope, who made the perſon who carried about his monkey, a cardinal. Every thing was made a ſubject of laughter and burleſque under the regency of this merry prince; and the ſame ſpirit prevailed as in the times of the league, ſetting aſide a civil war, that is to ſay, this regent revived the true ſpirit of the French nation, which had been damped

damped by a ſeries of melancholy events in the latter part of the reign of Lewis XIV.

Cardinal Dubois died the victim of a long courſe of debauch. He fell upon an expedient to prevent his being fatigued in his laſt moments by thoſe exerciſes of devotion, for which it is well known he had very little regard. He pretended that there was a particular ceremony in regard to cardinals, by which they were excuſed from receiving the extreme unction and viaticum, like common people. The curate of Verſailles thereupon preferred an information againſt his eminence; but Dubois cut ſhort all proceedings by his death, which, agreeable to the character of our nation, was like his adminiſtration only made a matter of laughter.

The duke of Orleans now took the title of prime miniſter upon himſelf; for the king being at age, his office of regent ceaſed of conſequence; but he did not long ſurvive his favourite the cardinal He was a prince whoſe only fault ſeemed to be an unbounded taſte for pleaſure and novelty.

Of all the race of Henry IV. Philip of Orleans reſembled that monarch the moſt in his courage, goodneſs of heart, openneſs, gaiety, affability, and freedom of acceſs, and with an underſtanding better cultivated.

The duke of Bourbon-Condé ſucceeded him almoſt inſtantaneouſly in the miniſtry, without having recourſe to any other intrigues than that of cauſing the patent to be immediately made out, and waiting upon the king with it, to be ſigned at the ſame time that he acquainted him with the death of the duke of Orleans. But it ſeems to have been always the fate of the Condé family to be obliged to yield to prieſts. Henry of Condé had been oppreſſed by cardinal de Richelieu, the great Condé was impriſoned by cardinal Mazarine, and the duke of Bourbon was driven into baniſhment by cardinal Fleury.

This latter was a native of Languedoc, born without fortune or expectations. He had been almoner to the dauphineſs, a princeſs of the houſe of Bavaria, and we have a letter written by madame de Maintenon in the year

year 1716. in which ſhe thus expreſſes herſelf: "This is certainly not a perſon to be ſoon made a "biſhop."

* * *

Cardinal de Fleury took the earlieſt opportunity to reſign his biſhopric of Frejus, after having by his œconomy ſaved money enough to pay off a conſiderable number of debts, and having done a great deal of good by his mild and conciliatory diſpoſition. Theſe were the two prevailing parts of his character; he alledged to the people of his dioceſe, as an excuſe for quitting them, the bad ſtate of his health, which would not permit him to attend properly to the care of the flock committed to his charge. Luckily for him however he never knew a day's illneſs.

The biſhopric of Frejus, which was ſituated at a conſiderable diſtance from the court, and in a country not the moſt agreeable, had been always diſliked by him: he had taken a diſtaſte to his ſpiritual ſpouſe; and in a humorous letter which he wrote to cardinal Quirini, he ſigned himſelf, *Fleury, by the Divine diſpleaſure, biſhop of Frejus.*

He reſigned at the beginning of the year 1715. The court of Rome, which is always well informed of what paſſes in other churches, knew that the free and abſolute reſignation which Fleury had made of his biſhopric, was founded on a view of being made preceptor to the young dauphin, the preſent king of France. Pope Clement XI. who was very clear in this, declared it openly, and marſhal Villeroi, after abundance of ſolicitations, prevailed on Lewis XIV. actually to nominate the biſhop of Frejus preceptor to his ſon by a codicil to his will However, let us ſee how the new preceptor expreſſes himſelf on this event in his letter to cardinal Quirini.

"I have more than once," ſays he, "regretted my "peaceable ſolitude of Frejus. On my arrival here I "learnt, that his late majeſty had done me the honour

"to

" to nominate me preceptor to his grandſon; had he " been in a condition to have heard me ſpeak, I ſhould " have earneſtly beſought him to eaſe me of a bur- " then the weight of which makes me tremble; but, " as he was dead, all I could ſay made no impreſſion. " This has thrown me into a fit of ſickneſs, and no- " thing can comfort me for the loſs of that liberty I " had aimed at by my reſignation."

But he inſenſibly found comfort in applying himſelf to form the mind of his pupil to buſineſs, ſecreſy, and probity; and preſerved in the midſt of the hurry and agitation of the court, during the minority, the good graces of the regent and the eſteem of the public: he never made a merit of his own ſervices, nor complained of others, and by never engaging in cabals or intrigues of the court, he never ſubjected himſelf to the mortification of a denial. He privately endeavoured to make himſelf acquainted with the affairs of the kingdom at home, and its political intereſts abroad. In a word, the circumſpection of his conduct, and the amiableneſs of his diſpoſition, made all France wiſh to ſee him at the head of the adminiſtration. He was the ſecond preceptor who had governed that kingdom, and was ſatisfied with being abſolute in his place, without taking the title of prime miniſter. He was leſs thwarted and envied in his miniſtry than either Richelieu or Mazarine in the moſt peaceable part of theirs. His exaltation made no change in his manners; and every one was ſurprized to find in a prime miniſter the moſt engaging, and at the ſame time the moſt diſintereſted courtier. Happily, his ſpirit of moderation, and the intereſt of the nation, were for a long time in accord. France ſtood in need of that peace of which her miniſter was ſo fond, and it was the opinion of all the foreign miniſters, that it would never be broken ſo long as he held the reins of government.

Some

* * *

Some writers of other countries have confounded this miniſter with the Abbé Fleury, author of the hiſtory of the church, and ſome excellent diſcourſes which far exceed that work. This Abbé Fleury was confeſſor to Lewis XIV. he lived unknown in the midſt of a court; a man of real modeſty. The modeſty of the other Fleury was that of an ambitious man of parts.

At the End of the CHAPTER.

Ibid. ALL was peaceable between the powers of Chriſtendom, if we except the diſputes which began to ariſe about this time between the crowns of Spain and England, concerning the trade to the Weſt Indies. France continued to be conſidered as the arbiter of Europe.

The emperor made war upon the Turks, without conſulting the other princes of the Empire. This war proved unfortunate; but France ſaved him from the precipice by its mediation, and Mr. de Villeneuve, her ambaſſador at the Ottomon court, went into Hungary in 1739, and there concluded a peace with the Turkiſh viſier, which proved a very ſeaſonable relief to the emperor.

France almoſt at the ſame time compromiſed matters for the government of Genoa, which was threatened with a civil war, and quelled for a time the rebellious Corſicans, who had thrown off the yoke of that republic. The country of Corſica, which has for a conſiderable time taken the title of kingdom, was towards the end of the thirteenth century brought under ſubjection to Genoa. A country leſs extenſive and leſs warlike than the other; but ſuperior in riches. The Corſicans, who had always been an undiſciplined and reſtleſs people, were at this time in open rebellion, having taken up arms ever ſince the year 1725, on pretence of having been tyrannically treated by their maſters.

maſters. A gentleman of the county of La Mark, in Germany, named Theodore Neuhoff, having travelled through all Europe, in hopes of making his fortune, happened to be at Leghorn in the year 1736. Here he entered into a correſpondence with the Corſican malecontents, and offered them his ſervice. He made a voyage to Tunis, where he exerted himſelf ſo effectually in their behalf, that he returned to Corſica loaded with arms, ammunition and money. At his arrival he was proclaimed king of Corſica, and crowned with a wreath of laurel, and acknowledged by all the inhabitants of the iſland. He put himſelf at their head, and carried on the war. The ſenate of Genoa ſet a price upon his head; but not being able either to get Theodore into their hands, or to ſubject the rebels, they had applied to the emperor for his protection. But this was thought a dangerous ſtep, inaſmuch as the emperor, who looks upon himſelf as lord-paramount of all Italy, was hereby made ſovereign judge between the ſtate of Genoa and her rebellious ſubjects. The ſenate therefore had recourſe to France, who ſucceſſively ſent generals and troops over to Corſica, who drove Theodore out of the iſland, reduced the malecontents to ſubmiſſion, and put every thing upon a peaceable footing, at leaſt for ſome time. King Theodore went to London, where he died in a priſon neglected and deſpiſed.

While the court of France was thus acting as the benefactreſs of Genoa and Corſica, ſhe at the ſame time interpoſed her good offices between the courts of London and Madrid, who had juſt begun a war the more ruinous, as the poſſeſſions for which they diſputed were of little or no advantage on either ſide. In 1735, the ſame crown had employed its mediation between thoſe of Spain and Portugal; ſo that France was generally reſpected by all her neighbours, who had none of them any cauſe to complain of her, and was conſidered by all nations as their common mother and mediatrix.

DEATH of the EMPEROR CHARLES VI.

The Imperial Succeſſion diſputed by four Powers. The Queen of Hungary acknowledged in all her father's dominions. Sileſia ſeized by the king of Pruſſia.

Vol. VI. ch. 190. THE emperor Charles VI. died in the month of October, 1740, aged fifty-five years. It is neceſſary for all crowned heads, whoſe lives are of ſo great conſequence to the peace and happineſs of their people, to know, that this monarch was the cauſe of his own death, by over-eating himſelf, at an entertainment *; an exceſs which coſt him his life, and brought the empire to the brink of ruin. If the death of Auguſtus II. king of Poland, was the cauſe of great commotions, it may readily be imagined that of Charles VI. who was the laſt prince of the houſe of Auſtria, muſt have occaſioned far other revolutions. In the firſt place, Italy had a proſpect of acquiring that independence to which ſhe had always aſpired. Several petty ſtates, reputed fiefs of the empire, pretended to deny this ſubjection. Rome in particular, that had been ſacked by Charles the Fifth, ſeverely treated by his ſucceſſors, oppreſſed and obliged to pay a ranſom by Joſeph, the brother of this Charles VI. now flattered herſelf with the hopes of being for ever freed from the pretenſions of the German emperor, who have all, ſince Otho the firſt, imagined themſelves ſucceſſor to the rights of the ancient Cæſars: agreeable to which, the German chancery does to this day look upon the other kingdoms of Europe as provinces rent from the empire, and in their pretocol they gave the title of majeſty to no king whatever: the elector of Cologne ſtiles himſelf chancellor of Italy; and the elector of Triers aſſumes the title of chancellor of Gaul. The German king, elected at Francfort,

* He died by eating too heartily of a diſh of muſhrooms.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY AU 17 1912 CAMBRIDGE

fort, is there declared king of the Romans, tho' he has not the leaſt juriſdiction in Rome; and as ſuch exacts a tribute from all the provinces of Italy, wherever he is powerful enough to obtain them. This multiplicity of doubtful rights had, for upwards of ſeven hundred years, been the ſource of all the calamities and oppreſſion, that Italy had experienced during that period. Now it appeared highly probable that the troubles, into which Germany would be plunged, by the ſudden death of Charles VI. would reſtore theſe people to that liberty which they had ſo long wiſhed for in vain. The new revolution which every one foreſaw would be the conſequence of the extinction of the houſe of Auſtria, whenever it ſhould happen, might not only annihilate the rights, and even the name of Roman empire; but it alſo appeared a matter of doubt whether Germany might not be divided among ſeveral princes, ſo powerful, as ſooner or later, to refuſe to acknowledge a ſupreme head, or, at leaſt, to leave that head but a very ſmall ſhare of the authority of his predeceſſors.

The inheritance of the houſe of Auſtria, therefore, ſeemed on the point of paſſing into ſeveral hands. This inheritance conſiſted of Hungary and Bohemia, kingdoms, that, after having been for a long ſeries of time, elective, had been made hereditary by the princes of this houſe; of Auſtrian Suabia, called Auſtria anterior; of the upper and lower Auſtria, conquered in the thirteenth century; of Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Flanders, Burgau, the four foreſt towns, Briſgau, Friuli, Tirol, the Milaneſe, Mantua, and the dukedom of Parma; as to the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, they were already in the hands of Don Carlos, ſon to Philip V. king of Spain.

Maria Thereſa, the eldeſt daughter of Charles VI. founded her rights on the natural right of inheritance, ſolemnly confirmed by the pragmatic ſanction, and guarantied by almoſt all the European powers. On the other hand, Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, demanded the ſucceſſion, by virtue of the will of Ferdinand I. brother to Charles V.

Auguſtus

Auguſtus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, alledged rights of a more recent nature; the rights of his own wife, eldeſt daughter of the emperor Joſeph, the elder brother of the deceaſed emperor.

The king of Spain extended his pretenſions to all the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, deriving his right from a wife of Philip II. daughter of the emperor Maximilian II. and from whom he (Philip V.) was deſcended. Here was already a great revolution in the affairs of Europe; to ſee the houſe of France laying claim to the whole patrimony of that of Auſtria. Lewis XV. had as juſt a pretenſion to this ſucceſſion as any one, as being deſcended in a direct line from the eldeſt male branch of the houſe of Auſtria, by the wives of his great grand-father, and grand-father, Lewis XIII. and the XIV. but it appeared moſt prudent for him to act the part of umpire and protector, rather than that of a claimant; for he might, by that means, be able to determine this controverted ſucceſſion, and that of the empire in concert with one half of Europe; whereas, had he made only pretenſion to it himſelf, he was certain to have all Europe againſt him. This great cauſe of ſo many crowned heads, was argued before the tribunal of Chriſtendom, in a multitude of public manifeſtoes and memorials. Princes and private perſons alike intereſted themſelves in the diſpute, ſo that a general war was looked upon as inevitable; but, to the amazement and confuſion of human policy, the ſtorm began from a quarter that no one ſo much as thought of.

A new kingdom had been created at the beginning of the preſent century; the emperor, Leopold, availing himſelf of a right, which the German emperor had always exerciſed, that of creating kings, had in 1701, erected Ducal Pruſſia into a kingdom, in favour of Frederic William, elector of Brandenbourg. Pruſſia was then no better than a vaſt deſert; but Frederic William II. the ſecond king, whoſe politics were different from thoſe of all the princes his co-temporaries, expended

expended near twenty-five millions of our money, in clearing lands, and building towns, and peopling them. He ſent for ſeveral families from Suabia and Franconia, to ſettle there; and alſo invited above ſixteen thouſand perſons from Saliſbourg, all of whom he ſupplied with what was neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, and to ſet them to work. While he was thus forming a new ſtate, he made to himſelf, by œconomy, a power of a new kind; he laid by every month about ſixty thouſand German crowns, which compoſed an immenſe treaſure in the courſe of a reign of eight and twenty years. What he did not thus put into his coffers, he made uſe of to raiſe an army of eighty thouſand choſen men, whom he diſciplined himſelf, after a new manner, though he never availed himſelf of their ſervice. But his ſon, Frederic III. made uſe of all thoſe preparations of his father. It was well known to all Europe, that this prince, who had taſted deeply of adverſity, during his father's reign, had employed his leiſure hours in cultivating his underſtanding, and improving the ſingular gifts he had received from nature; he was univerſally admired for talents which would have done honour to any private perſon; but he was not yet known to poſſeſs thoſe of the monarch and the ſoldier; and Auſtria had no more apprehenſion of him than it had of the late king, his father, whom he ſucceeded three months before the imperial ſucceſſion, and that of the houſe of Auſtria became vacant. Frederic foreſaw the general confuſion which that event occaſioned, and he did not loſe an inſtant to enter ſword in hand into Silefia, one of the richeſt provinces belonging to the daughter of Charles VI. He laid claim to four duchies, (in that province) which his anceſtors had formerly been poſſeſſed of, by purchaſes and family compacts, and to which they indeed renounced all claim by repeated public acts, as being too weak to ſupport it; he, on the contrary, knowing himſelf ſufficiently powerful, revived theſe pretenſions anew.

France,

France, Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony had been for ſome time buſied in making a new emperor. Bavaria preſſed France to procure for him ſome ſhare in the Auſtrian ſucceſſion. This elector laid claim to all thoſe dominions by his manifeſtoes, but he did not dare to claim them by his miniſters. In the mean time Maria Thereſa, who had married the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, took poſſeſſion of all the dominions which had been left by her father, and received the homage of the Auſtrian ſtates at Vienna, November 7, 1740. Bohemia and the provinces of Italy ſwore allegiance to her by their deputies, and ſhe won the affections of all the Hungarians, by ſubmitting to take the ancient coronation oath of king Andrew II. made in the year 1222, and which was as follows: "If I, "or any of my ſucceſſors in time to come, ſhall at- "tempt to violate your privileges, it ſhall be lawful "for you and your deſcendants, in virtue of the pro- "miſe I now make you, to defend yourſelves, without "being liable to be treated as rebels."

The averſion which the anceſtors of the arch-ducheſs had always ſhewn to enter into theſe engagements with their ſubjects, and the prudent ſtep ſhe took on this occaſion, endeared her infinitely to the Hungarians, inſomuch that they, who had always been endeavouring to throw off the yoke of the houſe of Auſtria, embraced that of Maria Thereſa; and, after two hundred years of ſedition, quarrels, and civil wars, they became on a ſudden devoted to a family, for which they had formerly expreſſed ſo much hatred. The queen was crowned at Preſburg the 24th of June, 1741; this was not till ſome months after her acceſſion: however, ſhe was not the leſs conſidered as a ſovereign, and ſhe had already eſtabliſhed her reign in all hearts, by an affability and popularity which few of her anceſtors had ever exerciſed. She baniſhed from her court that form and reſtraint which frequently renders princes hateful, without ever procuring them more reſpect. Her aunt the arch-ducheſs, governeſs of the Low Countries, never ſuffered any perſon to eat at table with her; Maria Thereſa, on the contrary, admitted

admitted to her's all her ladies and officers of diſtinction: the deputies of the ſtate were permitted to ſpeak to her with freedom; ſhe never refuſed audience to any one, and no perſon ever departed from her preſence diſſatisfied.

Her firſt care was to make her conſort the grand duke of Tuſcany, the partner of all her dignities and poſſeſſions, under the title of Co-Regent, without leſſening her own ſovereignty, or violating the pragmatic ſanction: ſhe mentioned this her intention to the Auſtrian ſtates the ſame day ſhe received their homage, and ſoon after put it into execution. She flattered herſelf, even then, that the dignities with which ſhe adorned her royal conſort, would have prepared the way for him to the imperial throne; but ſhe had no money, and her troops were not only greatly diminiſhed, but diſperſed in the different parts of her extenſive dominions.

The king of Pruſſia cauſed a propoſal to be made to her, to yield the Lower Sileſia to him, and, in return, offered to aſſiſt her with his whole intereſt, with his arms and five millions of our livres, in order to ſecure to her the poſſeſſion of all the reſt, and to obtain the empire for the Grand Duke her conſort. Some ſtateſmen of no ſmall abilities thought, that the Germanic conſtitution was now on the point of being overturned; but this princeſs, whoſe veins were enriched with the blood of ſo many emperors, diſdained even the thought of ſacrificing any part of her patrimony; and though weak ſhe was undaunted. Numbers of Auſtrians, conſidering only the grandeur of the court of Vienna and not its weakneſs, declared loudly, that the elector of Brandenbourg would be put under the ban of the empire. Even the miniſters of that monarch were daunted at the ſound of the Auſtrian name; but the king, who ſaw clearly that it was no more than a name, and that from the ſtate of Europe at that time he was ſure to have allies, entered Sileſia at the head of his troops in the month of December, 1740.

At

At firſt it was propoſed to put the words *Pro Deo & patriâ* (for God and my country) on his colours by way of device; but he ſtruck out the two firſt, ſaying, that he would not have the name of God blended with the quarrels of men; and that his diſpute was about a province, and not concerning religion. He cauſed the Roman eagle, diſplayed in relief, to be fixed on the top of a gilded ſtaff, and to be carried before his own regiment of guards. This air of novelty laid him under a kind of neceſſity of being invincible. He alſo harangued his ſoldiers, to reſemble in every reſpect the antient Romans. As ſoon as he entered Sileſia, he made himſelf maſter of almoſt all that province of which they had refuſed him a part: but hitherto things remained in an uncertain ſtate.

General Neuperg marched to the relief of the invaded province with an army of 24,000 Auſtrians, and obliged the king of Pruſſia to come to an engagement at Molwitz, near the river Neiſs. There it was that the Pruſſian infantry ſhewed what they were able to perform: the king's cavalry, leſs ſtrong by half than that of the Auſtrians, was entirely broken; the firſt line of his infantry was taken in flank; the battle was given for loſt, all the king's baggage was pillaged, and he himſelf, in danger of being taken, was carried away by the croud that ſurrounded him: but his ſecond line of infantry retrieved the fortune of the day, by that unſhaken diſcipline to which they are ſo well accuſtomed, by their inceſſant fire (which they repeat at leaſt five times in a minute) and by charging their muſkets with their iron ramrods in a moment. In a word, they gained the victory, and this event became the ſignal of an univerſal flame.

The

The King of FRANCE unites with the Kings of PRUSSIA and POLAND, to advance CHARLES ALBERT, Elector of BAVARIA, to the Imperial Throne. That Prince is declared a Lieutenant-General in the Service of France. He is elected Emperor. His Succeſſes and rapid Loſſes.

AT the time that the king of Pruſſia ſeized upon Sileſia, all Europe imagined him in alliance with France; but in this they were miſtaken, as is frequently the caſe with thoſe who argue only from appearances. It is certain, that by this ſtep the king of Pruſſia hazarded a great deal, as he himſelf has acknowledged; but then he foreſaw that France would not let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity of ſeconding him. It was the intereſt of that crown to favour her old ally, the elector of Bavaria, whoſe father had loſt his all in fighting her cauſe, after the battle of Hockſtet. This very Charles Albert, the elector of Bavaria, had alſo been made priſoner by the Auſtrians, when a child, and his very title of Bavaria taken from him. France now found it her intereſt to avenge him. It ſeemed no difficult matter to procure him at once the empire, and a part of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion. By this ſtep of the new houſe of Lorrain, Auſtria would be deprived of that ſuperiority which the old one had affected to have over the other princes of Europe; and moreover it would aboliſh the old rivalſhip ſubſiſting between the dependents of Bourbon and Auſtria, which would be effecting more than Henry IV. and cardinal Richelieu had ever hoped to compaſs.

The king of Pruſſia foreſaw this revolution even before it was begun, at the time that he ſet out for Sileſia; and it is ſo true, that he had not concerted any meaſures with cardinal Fleury, that the marquis of Beauveau, who had been ſent to Berlin, to compliment the new king on his acceſſion, knew not, on the firſt movement of the Pruſſian troops, whether they were deſtined againſt France or Auſtria. King Frederic ſaid

ſaid to him as he was going to ſet out, "I believe I "am going to play your game; if I throw aces, we'll "ſhare the winnings."

This was the ſole beginning of a negotiation then at a diſtance. The French miniſtry were for ſome time in diſpute which ſide to take. Fleury, then in his eighty-fifth year, was not for ſtaking his reputation, his old age, and his country, on the hazard of a new war. The pragmatic ſanction ſigned, and authentically guarantied, was a curb upon him; but then, on the other hand, former treaties, made with the houſe of Bavaria, offered him encouragement. It is certain, that this war was loudly demanded, both by court and city, notwithſtanding that they afterwards joined in condemning it. I heard a man of great diſtinction ſay, "Cardinal Richelieu pulled down the "houſe of Auſtria, and cardinal Fleury will, if he "can, erect a new one." Theſe words, which came to the miniſter's ears, piqued him ſenſibly; but did not make him change his opinion.

It was the count, afterwards marſhal duke of Belleiſle, and his brother, nephew of the famous Fouquet, who, without having any ſhare in public affairs, or as yet any acceſs to the king, nor any power with the cardinal, brought him to a reſolution.

Marſhal Belleiſle, tho' he had not done any thing extraordinary, had a great reputation; and tho' he had neither been a miniſter, or a general, was thought better qualified than any one to conduct either the army or the ſtate: he ſaw things in all their points of light, and was the only courtier perfectly acquainted with the interior ſprings of government, and almoſt the only officer who kept up military diſcipline. He was naturally fond of glory and of buſineſs, without which there can be no true glory; he was exact and indefatigable, and had a taſte alike for the buſineſs of negotiation, and that of the cabinet and the field: but a very bad ſtate of health frequently deſtroyed the fruits of theſe great talents. Always in action, and always full of projects, the ſtrength of his body was not ſuf-

ficient to ſupport the efforts of his mind. He was alike admired for his politeneſs as a courtier, and for his honeſt frankneſs as a ſoldier. He found the means to perſuade, without the gift of eloquence, by always appearing to be perſuaded himſelf. He wrote in a plain and common ſtile; and to read his diſpatches, one would not ſuppoſe him to be poſſeſſed of ſuch ſtrong and active ideas.

The chevalier de Belleiſle, his brother, had the ſame ambition and the ſame views, but ſomewhat deeper; this was the reſult of a hale conſtitution, which enabled him to ſupport the greateſt fatigues of buſineſs. His air was more gloomy than that of his brother, and not ſo engaging; but he ſubdued thoſe hearts into which his brother had inſinuated himſelf. His eloquence was like his courage; and under an appearance of reſerve and deep thoughtfulneſs, one might perceive ſomething very powerful; in a word, he was capable of planning, undertaking, and executing any thing.

Theſe two men, not more united by the ties of blood than by the parity of ideas, undertook to change the face of all Europe. The cardinal oppoſed their plan of operations: he even delivered his opinion againſt it to the king in writing; and now, if he had been deſirous to have ended his career in a truly glorious manner, he ſhould have retired from buſineſs; but he had not reſolution enough to quit the miniſtry, and to live retired, though on the very brink of the grave: in a word, the marſhal and his brother had the management of all the neceſſary diſpoſitions, and the old cardinal ſeemed to preſide at the head of an undertaking which he diſapproved.

Every thing in the beginning ſeemed to favour the ſcheme: marſhal Belleiſle was ſent to the king of Pruſſia, then in his camp at Frankfort, and from thence to Dreſden, to ſettle the vaſt projects which the concurrence of ſo many princes ſeemed to render infallible. He in every thing agreed with the king of Pruſſia, who promiſed, by a private writing, not to make peace without

without the knowledge of his allies. Belleisle from thence went into Saxony, where he gained such an ascendancy over the minds of that court, that they promised him, as he himself has told me, to march a body of troops even before the signing of the treaty. The marshal also negotiated in all the courts of Germany, and was the life and soul of that body which nothing for himself. France furnished the elector Bavaria at one and the same time with money, allies, votes, and arms; he had promised twenty thousand of his own troops, but could hardly raise twelve thousand, though assisted with French money. The king sent him the army he had promised him, and at the same time, by letters patent, * created him his lieutenant-general, whom he was about to make emperor of Germany.

The elector of Bavaria, thus strengthened, easily penetrated into Austria, while Maria Theresa could, with difficulty, make head against the king of Prussia. He soon made himself master of Passau, an imperial city, governed by its bishop. This place separates Upper Austria from Bavaria. He advanced as far as Lintz, the capital of Upper Austria, and some of his parties skirmished within three leagues of Vienna. The alarm was now spread, the whole city was in confusion, and they prepared for a siege with all expedition; one whole suburb and a palace, bordering on the fortifications, are entirely destroyed. The Danube is covered with vessels transporting the most valuable effects of the inhabitants to places of greater security. The elector of Bavaria even sends a summons to count Kevenhuller, governor of Vienna.

England and Holland were at that time far from holding in their hands that balance to which they had long pretended. The states-general kept a profound silence on seeing marshal Mallebois' army,

* These letters were not signed till the twentieth of August 1741.

which was then in Weſtphalia; and this ſame army over-awed the king of England, who trembled for the ſafety of his Hanoverian dominions, where he then reſided. He had raiſed twenty-five thouſand men to ſuccour Maria Thereſa, and at the head of this very army, he was obliged to abandon her and ſign a neutrality. His domeſtics were furniſhed with paſſports for their perſons and baggage by the French general, to carry them to London, and the king himſelf returned by the way of Weſtphalia. The prince, either within the empire, who ſupported that pragmatic ſanction which ſo many of them had guarantied. Vienna, weakly fortified on that ſide where it was threatened, could not have held out long. Thoſe who were beſt acquainted with Germany, and the ſtate of public affairs, looked upon that city as good as taken, by which the aſſiſtance, which Maria Thereſa might otherwiſe have drawn from the Hungarians, would have been cut off, her dominions laid entirely open to the arms of the conqueror, all claims ſettled, and peace reſtored to the empire, and to Europe. And even cardinal de Fleury was ſo much encouraged by thoſe favourable diſpoſitions in a project, for which he had in the beginning ſo great a repugnance, that he ſaid to ſome officers, who waited on him late to take leave, "Gentlemen, this will not be a long buſineſs, and I hope "to ſee you again very ſoon."

The courage and reſolution of Maria Thereſa ſeemed to encreaſe with the difficulties ſhe had to ſurmount, ſhe had quitted Vienna to throw herſelf into the arms of the Hungarians, whom her father and anceſtors had treated with ſo much ſeverity. Having aſſembled the four orders of the ſtate at Preſbourg, ſhe appeared in the midſt of them, holding in her arms her eldeſt ſon, then an infant in his cradle, and addreſſing herſelf to them in Latin, which tongue ſhe ſpoke perfectly well, ſhe expreſſed herſelf nearly in theſe words: "Forſaken by my friends, perſecuted by my enemies, "and attacked by my neareſt relation, I have no

"other

"other reſource but your fidelity, your courage, and "my own conſtancy: to your care I ſurrender the "daughter and ſon of your kings, who from you ex-"pect their ſafety." All the palatines, ſoftened, and, at the ſame, animated by this ſhort ſpeech, drew their ſabres, crying out with one voice, *Moriamur pro rege noſtro Maria Thereſa*, "Let us die for our king Maria "Thereſa;" for it is to be obſerved, they always give the title of king to their queens; and never in fact did princeſs better deſerve that title. They ſhed tears in taking the oath to defend her, her eyes alone were dry; but when ſhe withdrew with her maids of honour, thoſe tears, which the greatneſs of her ſoul had hitherto ſuppreſſed, burſt forth in abundance. She was at that time with child, and had written, not long before, to her mother-in-law, the ducheſs of Lorraine, theſe words; "I, as yet, know not whether "I ſhall have a ſingle town left wherein to be brought "to-bed."

In this condition ſhe excited the zeal of the Hungarians. England and Holland rouſed in her behalf, and ſupplied her with money; ſhe correſponded with all the ſtates of the empire; negociated with the king of Sardinia, while her provinces furniſhed her with ſoldiers.

The whole kingdom of England took part in her diſtreſſes. The Engliſh are not a people who wait to know their ſovereign's opinion before they give theirs. Some private perſons propoſed a free-gift for this princeſs. The ducheſs of Marlborough, whoſe huſband had fought for Charles VI. aſſembled the principal ladies of London, whom ſhe induced to advance, for this cauſe, an hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, herſelf ſubſcribing forty thouſand of the ſum. The queen of Hungary had the greatneſs of ſoul to decline accepting of this money, which was ſo generouſly offered her, reſolved to wait for ſuch ſums as ſhould be granted by the nation in parliament aſſembled.

It was generally believed, that the victorious armies of France and Bavaria would have marched to the ſiege of Vienna; what the enemy fears ſhould be al-

ways carried into execution. This was one of thoſe deciſive ſtrokes, one of thoſe lucky opportunities, which fortune preſents once, and if neglected, is never to be recovered afterwards. The elector of Bavaria had entertained thoughts of taking Vienna; but he had made no preparations for the ſiege, and had neither artillery nor ammunition. Cardinal Fleury had not extended his views ſo far as to put that capital into the elector's hands; he generally confined himſelf to projects of a middling nature; he was for dividing the ſpoils before he had them, and did not intend that the emperor of his making ſhould enjoy the whole ſucceſſion.

The French army commanded by the elector of Bavaria, and reinforced with 20,000 Saxons, marched towards Prague in Nov. 1741. Count Maurice of Saxony, natural brother to the king of Poland, took the place by eſcalade. This general, who inherited from his father his very extraordinary bodily ſtrength, as well as his real worth and ſweetneſs of temper, was moreover endued with the greateſt talents for war. His great reputation induced the people of Courland to elect him their duke; but Ruſſia having wreſted from him what he had received from the unanimous ſuffrages of a whole people, he conſoled himſelf in the ſervice of France, and the ſocial pleaſures of a nation, which was not as yet ſufficiently acquainted with his merit.

It was neceſſary that Prague ſhould be taken in a few days, or the enterpriſe abandoned. They were in want of proviſions, the ſeaſon was far advanced, and the town, tho' poorly fortified, could eaſily reſiſt the firſt attack. General Ogilvy, an Iriſhman by birth, commanded in the place, with a garriſon of 3000 men, and the grand duke was in full march with an army of 30,000 to its relief, and on the 25th of November was actually within five leagues of it, when that very night the French and Saxons made an aſſault upon the town.

They

They made two attacks under cover of a deſperate fire from their artillery, which drew the attention of the whole garriſon to that ſide. In the mean time, count Saxe ſilently had a ſingle ladder fixed to the rampart of the New Town, in a part very diſtant from that where the aſſault was given. It happened that the ladder was not long enough, which obliged them to make up the deficiency by hand-barrows. Monſieur de Chevert, at that time Lieut. Col. of the regiment of Beauſſe, was the firſt man that mounted. He was followed by marſhal Broglio's eldeſt ſon. They reach the rampart, and find only one centinel at ſome diſtance. They are ſoon followed by numbers, and make themſelves maſters of the place. The whole garriſon lay down their arms, and general Ogilvy with his 3000 men ſurrender priſoners of war. Count Saxe ſaved the town from being pillaged, and, what was very extraordinary, the conquerors and the conquered were mixed pell-mell for three days; French, Saxons, Bavarians, and Bohemians, walked the ſtreets in common without diſtinction, and without ſhedding a drop of blood. Thus Prague was taken by eſcalade.

The elector of Bavaria, who was juſt arrived at the camp, tranſmitted an account of this ſucceſs to the king, in ſuch terms as a general would addreſs the prince whoſe armies he commanded. He made his public entry into the capital of Bohemia the ſame day on which it was taken, and was crowned in the month of December. In the mean time, the grand duke finding he had not been able to ſave the town, and that ſubſiſtence failed in the quarters which he occupied, retired to the ſouthern part of the province, and left the command of the army to his brother prince Charles of Lorraine.

During theſe tranſactions the king of Pruſſia made himſelf maſter of Moravia, a province that lies between Bohemia and Sileſia; ſo that Maria Thereſa ſeemed overpowered on all ſides. Her competitor had been crowned archduke of Auſtria at Lintz; he had been lately crowned king of Bohemia at

Prague, from whence he went to Francfort to receive the imperial diadem, under the name of Charles VII. All the electors had ſuſpended the vote of Bohemia, while that province remained in the poſſeſſion of the queen of Hungary, on pretext, that a woman had no right of ſuffrage. The elector of Bavaria, now maſter of Prague, might at the inſtant of election have made uſe of the vote of Bohemia in his own favour; but, as he had no need of it, he ſuffered it to lie dormant.

Marſhal Belleiſle, who had followed him from Prague to Francfort, appeared rather as one of the principal electors than as the ambaſſador of France. He managed all the votes, and directed all the negotiations; he received all the honours due to the repreſentative of a king who beſtowed the imperial crown. The elector of Mentz, who is preſident of the election, gave him the right hand in his own palace, and the ambaſſador, on the contrary, gave the right hand in his own houſe to electors only, taking place of all other princes. His inſtructions as plenipotentiary were delivered to the German Chancery in French, although that court had formerly required all ſuch papers to be preſented in the Latin tongue, as being the proper language of a government which aſſumes the title and denomination of the Roman empire.

Charles Albert was elected in the moſt tranquil and ſolemn manner on the 4th of January, 1742. He now appeared covered with glory, and at the ſummit of happineſs; but fortune ſoon put on a different aſpect, and his very elevation rendered him one of the moſt unfortunate princes upon earth.

Rapid diſaſters which followed the ſucceſſes of the EMPEROR CHARLES ALBERT of BAVARIA.

Every thing retrieved again by LEWIS XV. and Marſhal SAXE.

THE fault that had been committed in not providing a ſufficient number of cavalry began now to be felt. Marſhal Belleiſle was ſick at Francfort, and beſides he could not at one and the ſame time conduct negotiations, and command an army at a diſtance. Miſunderſtandings began to ariſe among the allies, the Saxons complained greatly of the Pruſſians, theſe of France, and theſe latter cried out likewiſe in their turn.

Maria Thereſa was ſupported by her own magnanimity, and by the money of England, Holland, and Venice, by loans on Flanders, but above all, by the deſperate ardour of her troops, which ſhe aſſembled from all quarters. The French army was deſtroyed by fatigue, ſickneſs, and deſertions; their leaders had but little credit, and recruits were difficult to be got. The French did not find the ſame fortune as Guſtavus Adolphus, who opened his campaign in Germany with leſs than 10,000 men, yet in a ſhort time found his forces increaſed to 30,000, augmenting them in proportion as he advanced.

The French army, which, on its entering Bohemia, ſhould have amounted to 45,000 men, conſiſted on its leaving France of no more than 32,000, and in this number there was but 8000 horſe. Every day then weakened the victorious French, and added new ſtrength to the Auſtrians. Prince Charles of Lorraine, brother to the Grand Duke, was in the heart of Bohemia, at the head of 35,000 effective men. The country was in his intereſt, and he began a de-

fenſive war very ſucceſsfully, by keeping the enemy in continual alarms, cutting off their convoys, and harraſſing them perpetually on all ſides, by ſwarms of huſſars, croats, pandours, and talpaches.

The pandours are Sclavonians, inhabiting the banks of the Drave, and the Save: they wear long cloaks, and in their girdles they carry piſtols, a ſabre, and a poignard.

The talpaches are Hungarian infantry; they go armed with a muſket, two piſtols, and a ſabre.

The croats, called in France *cravates*, are the militia of Croatia.

The huſſars are Hungarian cavalry, mounted upon ſmall horſes, which are extremely ſwift and hardy. Theſe fall upon, and cut off, advanced poſts that are weak and not properly ſupported with cavalry, which was every where the caſe of the French and Bavarian troops.

The elector of Bavaria thought a ſmall number of troops would be ſufficient to ſecure a vaſt extent of country, which it was imagined the queen of Hungary was in no condition to retake; but herein he was deceived. Every thing was retaken, and the ſeat of war was at length tranſported from the Danube to the Rhine.

Cardinal Fleury, on ſeeing all his hopes diſconcerted, and ſo fair a beginning ſucceeded by ſuch a train of diſaſters, wrote a letter to general Konigſeck, which was delivered to him by marſhal Belleiſle. In this letter the cardinal excuſes himſelf on the ſcore of the war, which, he ſays, was undertaken againſt his conſent; and acknowledges, that he had been hurried out of his own meaſures. "Many people, ſays he, know how ſtrenuouſly I oppoſed the reſolutions which have been taken; and that I was, in a manner, compelled to acquieſce in them. Your excellency is too well acquainted with all that paſſed, not to gueſs at the perſon who left nothing undone to determine the king to enter into a league ſo contrary to my liking and my principles."

The

The only anſwer the queen of Hungary made, was by cauſing the cardinal's letter to be printed. It was eaſy to foreſee the ill effects this letter muſt have produced. In the firſt place the whole blame of the war was thrown upon the very general who was commiſſioned to negotiate with count Konigſeck; and to render his perſon odious was not the way to make his negotiations ſucceſsful. Secondly, this letter plainly acknowledged a weakneſs in the miniſtry; and he muſt have had a very ſlender knowledge of mankind, who could not foreſee that advantage would be taken of this weakneſs, that the allies of France would grow cool upon it, and her enemies gather more courage.

The cardinal, finding his letter made public, wrote a ſecond, in which he complains to the Auſtrian general, and ſays, "That he ſhall not hereafter write his mind "ſo freely to him." This ſecond letter did him more harm than the firſt. Indeed, he diſavowed them both in the public papers; and this diſavowal, of which no one was the dupe, crowned all thoſe imprudent proceedings that milder judges excuſed in an old man of eighty-ſeven, worn out with a ſeries of ill-ſucceſs. At length the emperor offered propoſals for a peace to the court of London, and particularly to ſecularize the two biſhoprics in diſpute in favour of Hanover; but the Engliſh miniſtry, not thinking the emperor's interpoſition in the leaſt neceſſary towards obtaining theſe biſhoprics, inſulted his propoſals by making them public, and the emperor found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of diſavowing his offers of peace, as cardinal Fleury had diſowned the war.

The diſpute now became warmer than ever: France on the one hand, and England on the other, under the name of auxiliaries, though principals in fact, ſtrove to graſp the balance of Europe ſword in hand. Holland at length declared in favour of Maria Thereſa. Germany, Flanders, and Italy, were alternately the theatre of war, as happened in the year 1701: and the houſe of Bourbon was, for the ſecond time, obliged to ſupport a war againſt almoſt all the powers of Europe.

At

At the beginning of the Chapter concerning the War between France and England in the Year 1756.

Vol. VI. ch. 196. EUROPE, in general, never beheld ſuch glorious days as from the concluſion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, to the beginning of the year 1756. Trade flouriſhed from Peterſbourg to Cadiz, the fine arts were every where cheriſhed, and a mutual intercourſe ſubſiſted between all nations; ſo that Europe reſembled a large family reconciled, after having been long at variance. The new misfortunes, which were about to befal this part of the world, ſeemed foretold by the dreadful earthquakes which were felt in divers of its provinces, but more terribly in Liſbon than elſewhere. The greateſt part of that capital was thrown to the ground, and buried in its ruins upwards of thirty thouſand of its inhabitants. This fearful ſcourge extended itſelf to Spain; the little town of Setubal (commonly called St. Ubes) was almoſt wholly deſtroyed, and others conſiderably damaged. The ſea, making a breach over the walls of Cadiz, carried away every thing it met in its paſſage. Theſe ſhocks were not confined to Europe alone, the oppoſite continent of Africa had its ſhare in the deſolation; and the ſame day that the misfortune befel Liſbon, a whole nation of Arabs in the neighbourhood of Morocco were ſwallowed up by the opening of the earth, and the cities of Fez and Mequinez were even greater ſufferers than Liſbon.

This dire diſaſter ſhould have made mankind look into themſelves, and conſider, that as the common victims of fate, they ought to comfort, inſtead of oppreſſing, each other. The Portugueſe, imagined they ſhould deprecate the wrath of Heaven, by burning the Jews and others of their fellow creatures at an Auto da Fé, or *Act of Faith*, as it is called, which other nations look upon as an act of inhumanity

nity, and even at that time the other powers of Europe were preparing to ſtain with blood the earth that as yet trembled under their feet.

The firſt fatal cataſtophre happened in Sweden; that kingdom had been changed to a republic, in which the ſovereign was no more than the principal magiſtrate. He was obliged to comply with the majority of votes in the ſenate; the ſtates which were compoſed of the nobles, the burghers, the clergy, and the peaſants, had a power of altering the laws of the ſenate, but the king could not.

Certain of the nobles, more attached to the perſon of their prince than to the new laws of the country, entered into a conſpiracy againſt the ſenate in his favour, the plot was diſcovered, and the conſpirators puniſhed with death. And what in a government purely monarchical would have paſſed for a virtuous and meritorious deed, was deemed an infamous and treaſonable act in a country become free. Thus the ſame actions are virtuous or criminal according to times and places.

This affair alienated the minds of the Swedes from their king, and was partly the occaſion of their declaring war againſt Frederic, king of Pruſſia, whoſe ſiſter had been married to the king of Sweden.

The revolutions which the king of Pruſſia and his enemies were preparing at that time, were like a flame ſmothering beneath the embers that ſoon afterwards burſt forth with fury to the deſolation of Europe; but the firſt ſparks came from America.

The WAR in GERMANY.

An Elector of Brandenbourg alone oppoſes the Houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, and the Empires of Germany and Ruſſia.

MEMORABLE EVENTS.

LEWIS XIV. has been admired for making head alone againſt Germany, England, Italy and Holland, joined in league againſt him. We have ſeen an event ſtill more extraordinary: an elector of Brandenbourg, who alone has ſtood againſt the united forces of the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, Ruſſia, Sweden, and one half of the empire.

This is a prodigy which can only be attributed to the excellent diſcipline of his troops, and the ſuperior genius of their leader. Chance may decide the fate of one battle, but when we ſee the weaker party reſiſting thoſe ſo much ſuperior to him, for the ſpace of ſeven years together, in a country altogether open, we can no longer ſuppoſe this to be the work of fortune; and, in this reſpect, the preſent war differs from all thoſe which have hitherto ravaged the face of the earth.

We have already taken notice that the ſecond king of Pruſſia, who was the only ſovereign of Europe poſſeſſed of a treaſure and who had brought his troops to good diſcipline, eſtabliſhed a new power in Germany. We have ſeen alſo how the preparations made by the father emboldened the ſon alone to brave the Auſtrian power, and ſeize upon Sileſia.

The empreſs queen was waiting with patience for a favourable opportunity to repoſſeſs herſelf of that province. It would formerly have been a matter of indifference to the other powers of Europe, whether a petty country annexed to Bohemia belonged to one houſe or to another; but politics, like the other ideas

of

of the human mind, having been refined rather than improved of late, this trifling diſpute has put arms into the hands of above half a million of men. There never had been ſo great a number of effective fighting men, either in the cruſades, or in the irruptions of the conquerors of Aſia. The following is the manner in which this great ſcene opened.

Elizabeth, empreſs of Ruſſia, was cloſely allied with the empreſs queen Maria Thereſa, by ancient treaties, by their common intereſt, which united them againſt the Ottoman empire, and by a mutual inclination. Auguſtus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, who had been reconciled to the empreſs queen, and was naturally attached to Ruſſia, to whom he was indebted for his title of king of Poland, was intimately connected with both princeſſes. Theſe three powers had each their ſubjects of complaint againſt Frederic king of Pruſſia. Maria Thereſa ſaw Sileſia rent from her patrimony. Auguſtus and his council wanted reparation for the ravages committed in Saxony, by the king of Pruſſia, in the war of forty-one, and there were ſome complaints of a perſonal nature between that monarch and the empreſs Elizabeth.

Theſe three powers, all equally exaſperated againſt the king of Pruſſia, entered into the moſt intimate correſpondence, the effects of which were greatly feared by that prince. Auſtria was augmenting her forces, thoſe of Elizabeth were ready; but the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was not in a condition to undertake any thing; his electoral finances were exhauſted, and he had no place of any ſtrength to ſtop the Pruſſians from marching to Dreſden. And as order and œconomy had rendered Brandenbourg a formidable ſtate, diſſipation and neglect had enfeebled Saxony; and the Saxon council were not eaſily to be perſuaded to enter into meaſures that might have proved of fatal conſequence to the ſtate.

The king of Pruſſia, without any heſitation, and without conſulting any one, took himſelf the reſolution in the year 1755, to be before hand with thoſe powers

ers whoſe proceedings had given him ſo much umbrage. He began by making an alliance with the king of England, elector of Hanover; he ſecured the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, and the houſe of Brunſwick; and thus gave up his alliance with France.

It was at this period, as we have elſewhere obſerved *, that the ancient feuds between the houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria, which had ſubſiſted ever ſince the time of the emperor Charles V. and Francis I. of France, gave place to a reconciliation and friendly union, which appeared ſincere and permanent, and which greatly ſurpriſed all Europe. This union was, by the Engliſh parliament, called *an unnatural alliance*; but when the Engliſh wanted to reign maſters, it was a very natural one, and in no wiſe contravened the peace of Weſtphalia. It appeared highly probable that theſe two powerful houſes, thus united and ſeconded by Ruſſia, Sweden, and ſeveral of the German powers, might keep the reſt of Europe in awe.

The treaty was ſigned at Verſailles, between Lewis XV. and Maria Thereſa. The abbé de Bernis, afterwards cardinal, had the ſole honour of bringing about this famous treaty, which overturned all the edifice of cardinal Richelieu, and, in all appearance, erected another, more noble and extenſive, on its ruins. De Bernis was ſoon afterwards made miniſter of ſtate, and almoſt as ſoon diſgraced.

This ſtep only ſerved to make the king of Pruſſia more alert to take the field. He marched his troops into Saxony, which was in a manner defenceleſs, deſigning to make this province a kind of rampart againſt the Auſtrian power, and a way to come at her more effectually. He immediately made himſelf maſter of Leipſick, and a part of his army appeared before the gates of Dreſden. King Auguſtus thereupon retired, as his father had done before the victorious Charles XII. He quitted his capital, and went to his camp at

* See Vol. VIII. chap. cxcv.

at Pirnau, in the neighbourhood of Konigſtein, on the road to Bohemia, and on the borders of the Elbe, where he thought himſelf in ſafety.

Frederic then enters Dreſden as a maſter, though under the name of a protector. The queen of Poland, daughter to the emperor Joſeph, had refuſed to join her conſort in his flight, and remained in the city. They demanded of her the keys of the public archives; and upon her refuſing to deliver them up, prepared to break open the doors. The queen then places herſelf in their way, hoping that they would reſpect her perſon and courage; but, without regarding either, they forcibly opened, in her ſight, the ſacred depoſits of the ſtate. It was eſpecially neceſſary for the king of Pruſſia to get into his hands authentic proofs of the deſigns of the elector of Saxony againſt him. He ſucceeded, and found ſufficient teſtimonies of the apprehenſions they had of him; and yet theſe very apprehenſions, which ought to have induced the court of Dreſden to put itſelf in a poſture of defence, only ſerved to make it the victim of a powerful neighbour; and it was too late perceived, that Saxony, conſidering the ſituation in which it had been for ſuch a number of years, ought to have given all its attention to warlike concerns inſtead of pleaſure. There are certain ſituations, in which the only alternative left is to prepare for reſiſtance, to conquer or to periſh.

On the firſt news of this invaſion, the aulic council of the empire declared the king of Pruſſia, a diſturber of the public peace, and a rebel; but it was not eaſy to give this denunciation any weight againſt a prince who had an hundred and fifty thouſand fighting men under his command. He anſwered their edicts by giving battle to the Auſtrian army; whence he marched to that on the confines of Bohemia, near a village called Lowoſitz.

This firſt battle was not deciſive, as to the numbers ſlain on either ſide; but it proved ſo with reſpect to its conſequences. The king, in ſpite of the

at

utmoſt efforts of the Auſtrians, blocked up the Saxons in their camp at Pirnau; and the king of Poland's little army, conſiſting only of about thirteen or fourteen thouſand men, ſurrendered priſoners of war, in a week after the battle.

Auguſtus, in this very extraordinary capitulation, which was the only military event that happened between him and the king of Pruſſia, only requeſted that his own regiment of guards might not be made priſoners; but he was anſwered by Frederic, "that he "could not grant that requeſt, for that he was very "certain theſe guards would ſerve againſt him, and "he did not chooſe to be at the trouble of taking them "twice." This reply was a terrible leſſon to all princes to make themſelves powerful, when they have a powerful neighbour.

The king of Poland, having thus loſt his electorate and his army, was neceſſitated to apply to his enemy for paſſports, to carry him into Poland, which were very readily granted; and they had moreover the inſulting politeneſs to furniſh him with poſt-horſes. He went then from his hereditary into his elective dominions, where he found not a ſingle perſon willing to take up arms to ſupport their ſovereign. The whole electorate of Saxony was put under contribution, and the king of Pruſſia found ſufficient ſupplies in the countries he had invaded, to defray the expences of carrying on the war. The queen of Poland, who had not followed her huſband, remained behind in Dreſden, where ſhe died a ſhort time afterwards of grief. All Europe pitied the ſufferings of this diſtreſſed family; but in the courſe of theſe calamities, there were a thouſand other families that experienced as great ſufferings, though not of ſo public a nature. The civil magiſtrates of Leipſick made remonſtrances againſt the contributions which the victor had impoſed on them, and which they declared themſelves utterly incapable of raiſing: they were anſwered by being thrown into priſon, and they paid the ſums demanded.

Never

Never have ſo many battles been fought as during the courſe of this war. The Ruſſians entered the Pruſſian territories by the way of Poland. The French, now auxiliaries to the queen of Hungary, fought for the recovery of Sileſia; a country, which a few years before, they had aſſiſted to take from her, when allies of the king of Pruſſia. The king of England, who had formerly ſhewn himſelf the moſt zealous ſupporter of the houſe of Auſtria, was now become its moſt formidable enemy Sweden, that in the preceding war had ſtruck at the very exiſtence of that houſe, now ſent its forces to ſerve in its armies againſt the king of Pruſſia, for a ſubſidy of nine hundred thouſand franks: theſe troops were guilty of the leaſt ravages of any.

Germany now beheld itſelf torn to pieces by many more national troops than in the famous thirty years war.

While the Pruſſians were marching through Poland to the aſſiſtance of the empreſs queen, the French entered Germany, by the duchy of Cleves, and by Weſel, which had been abandoned by the Pruſſians, and took all the country of Heſſe; they then bent their march towards the electorate of Hanover, in order to give battle to an army of Engliſh, Hanoverians, and Heſſians, commanded by the ſame duke of Cumberland who had attacked Lewis XV. at Fontenoy

The king of Pruſſia went in ſearch of the Auſtrian army in Bohemia, and at the ſame time left a conſiderable body of troops to make head againſt the Ruſſians. The troops of the empire, called the army of execution, were ordered to penetrate into Saxony, now entirely in the poſſeſſion of the Pruſſians. Thus Germany was at once a prey to ſix formidable armies, that devoured her very vitals

The king of Pruſſia marched immediately to attack prince Charles of Lorraine, the emperor's brother, and general Brown, near Prague. The battle was bloody; but the Pruſſian army proved victorious, and obliged a part of the Auſtrian infantry to take ſhelter in the city of Prague, in which they were blocked up by the victorious

torious troops, for above two months. There were a great number of princes in the town. Proviſions began to grow ſcarce, and it was generally believed that Prague would fall a ſacrifice, and that the houſe of Auſtria would ſuffer more from Frederic than it had done from Guſtavus Adolphus.

But the conqueror loſt all the fruits of his ſucceſs, by graſping at every thing at once. Count Caunitz, prime miniſter of the empreſs queen, a man as active in the cabinet, as the king of Pruſſia was in the field, had already aſſembled an army under the command of marſhal Daun. The king of Pruſſia did not heſitate an inſtant to attack this army, in hopes that the reputation of his late victories would ſtrike a terror into the enemy's troops. This army once diſperſed, Prague muſt neceſſarily capitulate after a ſhort bombardment; and he was then abſolute maſter of Germany. Marſhal Daun had entrenched his army on the brow of a hill. The Pruſſians attacked the trenches ſeven different times, with incredible fury, and were as often repulſed. Frederic loſt near twenty-five thouſand men, killed, wounded, runaways, and deſerters. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who was ſhut up in Prague, made a ſally, and purſued the Pruſſians. The change in the face of things was now as great as the king of Pruſſia's hopes and exploits had been before this event.

The French, on their ſide, powerfully ſupported Maria Thereſa. The marechal d'Eſtrées, who commanded their army, had already paſſed the Weſer, and followed cloſe upon the duke of Cumberland, who was marching towards Minden; he came up with that general at Haſtenbeck, gave him battle, and gained a complete victory. The princes of *Condé* and *la Marche Conti* gave the firſt proofs of their military talents in this battle, and the blood-royal of France diſputed the honour of the field with that of England. And here let us obſerve, that, by ſome intrigues at court, the marſhal d'Eſtrées had been removed from the command of the army, and the orders were already gone forth

forth to put this affront upon him, when he gained this victory. The courtiers pretended to find fault with him for not having conquered the whole electorate of Hanover, and not having marched as far as Magdebourg. They thought that every thing was to be terminated in a single campaign. Such was the con[illegible], after of the French court in the year 176 dispose of all having made [illegible] the house of Austria; and in the beginning of the age of Lewis XIV. when that monarch and Philip V. of Spain, having made themselves masters of Italy and Flanders, and being seconded by two electors, thought to give laws to all Europe, and found themselves miserably deceived.

Continuation of Memorable Events.

The English Army obliged to capitulate. The Affair of Rosbach. Revolutions.

THE French ministry had dispatched marshal Richelieu to take the command of the army rom d'Estrées, before it was acquainted with the imortant victory that general had gained. Marshal ichelieu, remarkable for the charms of his person nd understanding, and famous by the defence of enoa and the taking of Minorca, marched to give e duke of Cumberland battle, whom he obliged to treat before him as far as the mouth of the Elbe, here he compelled him to capitulate with his whole my. This capitulation was more singular and glori-s than the most complete victory would have been. the articles of the convention, the duke of Cumrland obliged himself to retire beyond the Elbe, and leave the country open to the operations of the ench against the king of Prussia.

The ruin of that monarch now seemed inevitable. e severe defeat he had met with before Prague, and another

another where his troops had ſuffered near Landſhut on the confines of Sileſia, and lately a battle, which he had hazarded with the Ruſſians, and in which neither ſide had the victory, had weakened him almoſt beyond a poſſibility of recovery.

by the army danger of being hemmed in on one ſide the empire on the other, marſhal Richelieu, and by that of ſians were marching into the heart of Sileſia. His deſtruction now ſeemed ſo certain, that the Aulic council no longer kept any meaſures, but openly declared him to have incurred the ban of the empire, and to have forfeited all his fiefs, rights, privileges, immunities, &c. Nay, he himſelf ſeemed to think his ſituation altogether deſperate, and that nothing was left him but a glorious death. On this occaſion, he made a kind of a philoſophical teſtament; and ſo little was his mind affected with this ſeries of misfortunes, that he wrote it in French verſe. I am perſuaded this anecdote is altogether new, and ſingular in its kind.

The prince of Soubiſe, a general of intrepid courage, great prudence, and regularity of conduct, marched to give him battle in Saxony, at the head of a ſtrong army, which the miniſtry had further reinforced by a part of that under marſhal Richelieu. This army was joined by that of the circles, commanded by the prince of Hildebourghauſen.

Frederic, thus ſurrounded on all ſides by enemies, advanced with a reſolution to ſell his life dear, and periſh in the midſt of Soubiſe's ranks, at the ſame time that he took all the neceſſary precautions to gain the victory. He went to reconnoitre the joint armies, and then made a retreat, in order to ſecure an advantageous poſition for his own. The prince of Hildebourghauſen was for attacking him without delay. This reſolution was neceſſarily followed by the French, who acted only as auxiliaries; and they advanced into the neighbourhood of Roſbach and Marſbourg, and marched towards the Pruſſians, who were concealed under their tents; when, on a ſudden, the

the tents are struck, and the whole Pruſſian army is ſeen advancing in order of battle between two hills, lined with artillery.

At this unexpected ſight, the French and Imperial troops were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment. The French ſoldiery had for ſome years been taught the Pruſſian exerciſe, which had been afterwards altered in ſeveral of its evolutions, ſo that the men no longer knew what they were at, their former way of fighting was a hazard, and they were not ſufficiently maſters of the new method. When they ſaw the Pruſſians advancing towards them in this extraordinary diſpoſition, which was utterly unknown to all other nations, they thought they beheld their maſters. The Pruſſian artillery was likewiſe much better ſerved than that of the combined army. The Imperial troops gave way almoſt on the firſt onſet. The French cavalry was broke by the Pruſſian cannon; a general panic prevailed; the whole body of French infantry retreated before ſix battalions of the enemy: in ſhort, it could not be called a battle, but a powerful army that preſented itſelf in a poſture to fight, and then ran away. The event of next day is unparalleled in hiſtory, only two regiments of Swiſs remain on the field of battle. The prince of Soubiſe rode up to thoſe, and putting himſelf at their head, made them file off by ſlow degrees. This extraordinary day's work once more changed the face of affairs.

At this very time freſh diſaſters befel the army under marſhal Richelieu, which had been greatly weakened by the draughts the miniſtry had made from it. The court of France refuſed to ratify the convention, which the marſhal had obliged the duke of Cumberland to ſubſcribe. The Engliſh court therefore thought themſelves (not without juſtice) releaſed from their engagements. The ratification, afterwards ſigned at Verſailles, did not arrive till five days after the misfortune at Roſbach, and the Engliſh in a ſhort time retook the whole electorate of Hanover.

Extraordinary

Extraordinary and unprecedented [illegible] was the affair of Roſbach, it was not [illegible] than what was done by the king of Pruſſia after that unexpected victory. He haſtened into Sileſia, where his troops had been beaten by the Auſtrians; who had made themſelves maſters of Schweidnitz and Breſlau. But for this great diligence of his, Sileſia had been wholly loſt, and the battle of Roſbach would have been of no advantage to him.

In about a month's time he came up with the Auſtrian army, which he immediately attacked with the greateſt fury. The engagement laſted upwards of five hours, when victory declared wholly in favour of Frederic, who immediately took poſſeſſion of Schweidnitz and Breſlau. After this there followed a continual viciſſitude of battles, loſt and won. The French were, for the moſt part, always unfortunate; but their court was not in the leaſt diſcouraged: on the contrary, it exerted itſelf to the utmoſt to ſend freſh ſupplies of troops into Germany.

The king of Pruſſia, on his ſide was weakened by the numerous battles he fought; inſomuch, that the Ruſſians took from him the whole kingdom of Pruſſia, and laid waſte all Pomerania, while he was ravaging Saxony. The Auſtrians and Ruſſians ſucceſſively enter Berlin. Almoſt all the treaſure his father and himſelf had amaſſed was neceſſarily ſpent in this war, alike ruinous to all parties; and he was obliged to have recourſe to the Engliſh for ſubſidies. The Auſtrians, French, and Ruſſians, without being diſcouraged by their bad ſucceſſes, followed him wherever he went. His family dared not to remain in Berlin, which was continually expoſed to the inſults of the enemy; and as to himſelf, after a ſeries of fortunate events, he was, in 1762, intrenched under the cannon of Breſlau. Maria Thereſa ſeemed on the eve of recovering all Sileſia; Frederic had loſt Dreſden, and all that part of Saxony which borders upon Bohemia; the king of Poland flattered himſelf with the

hopes

hopes of recovering his hereditary dominions, when the death of Elizabeth, empreſs of Ruſſia, gave a new turn to the face of affairs, which had already undergone ſo many changes.

The new emperor, Peter III. had for a conſiderable time been ſecretly a friend to the king of Pruſſia. He now not only made peace with him the inſtant he came to the throne; but became his ally againſt the empreſs-queen, whom his predeceſſor Elizabeth had ſo warmly and conſtantly befriended. Thus, by a ſudden change, the king of Pruſſia, who had been ſo hardly preſſed by the Auſtrian and Ruſſian forces in concert, now prepared to enter Bohemia with the aſſiſtance of thoſe very Ruſſians, who had fought againſt him but a few weeks before.

But this new ſtate of affairs was again overturned almoſt as ſoon as formed, by a ſudden revolution in thoſe of Ruſſia.

The new czar wanted to repudiate his wife, which ſtirred up the whole nation againſt him, whoſe affections he ought to have endeavoured to gain. His wife obviated the deſign againſt her, the army and the people declared in her favour, and Peter III. was confined in priſon; where he died, in a few days after, of a violent fit of the cholic, to which he was ſubject.

The king of Pruſſia, though left to himſelf, reſolved to continue the war. But what would have been the conſequence of this chaos of events? The ſpilling of a prodigious quantity of blood; the raiſing numerous armies, which would have done much more miſchiefs than great exploits; the exhauſting whole nations for quarrels, with which they had nothing to do; the deſtruction and plundering of numberleſs towns; and, laſtly, the ruining the finances of thoſe princes who had a ſhare in the war.

And what are become of the prodigious ſums that have been laviſhed in this bloody contention? Why, they are hidden in the coffers of two or three hundred private perſons, who acted as pay maſters and com-

miſſaries to the reſpective armies; the contractors and bankers of Francfort, Hamburgh, Dantzick, and Holland, have made immenſe fortunes; and the Germans are better ſoldiers and richer tradeſmen than they ever were before. Thoſe diſaſters, which made every one tremble, will ſpeedily be forgotten, and loſt in the croud of general events, or ſwallowed up in a ſucceſſion of new changes.

The ENGLISH Victorious in the Four Quarters of the World.

WHEN marſhal Richelieu, in 1756, laid ſiege to Port Mahon, the capital of the iſland of Minorca, the Engliſh ſent out admiral Byng, with a ſtrong naval force, to drive the French fleet off the iſland, and raiſe the ſiege.

The Engliſh, who looked upon themſelves as maſters of the ſea, were incenſed at admiral Byng for not having beaten the French fleet: they accuſed him with having kept at too great a diſtance from the French admiral: he was tried for his life by a council of war, called in that country a *court-martial*, who condemned him to be ſhot. The ſentence was unanimouſly confirmed by the king and council. Never, perhaps, was there an inſtance of a more ſevere ſentence.

At this time there appeared a book, intitled, "An Eſtimate of the Manners of the Times," of which there were no leſs than five editions printed off in London in the ſpace of three months. In this treatiſe, the author proves, that the Engliſh nation was entirely degenerated; that the more extenſive its trade, the nearer it was to its ruin; that it was wrong to make uſe of the riches it poſſeſſed; that its inhabitants were no longer ſo robuſt and hardy as in former times; that its ſoldiers had loſt their courage; and that this was owing to the great number

number of philoſophers, who were ſo wicked and ſenſeleſs as to acknowledge only one God, and to be neither Church of England-men, Preſbyterians, Quakers, Memnoniſts, nor Anabaptiſts. We often meet with writings of this kind in France, of which no one takes any notice: but this rouſed the ſenſibility of the Engliſh nation, and produced the following conſequences.

They attacked, almoſt at one and the ſame time, all the ſea-coaſts of France, and her poſſeſſions in Aſia, Africa, and America.

The firſt conqueſt they made was of Chandenagore, an important poſt the French poſſeſſed at the entry of the Ganges in the Eaſt-Indies. This was the great warehouſe for all the curious merchandizes we have out of the mogul's country.

The Engliſh and French Eaſt-India companies, as has already been obſerved, had for a conſiderable time carried on their trade in that part of the world ſword in hand, and had engaged in their quarrels the nabobs or rajas of the country, who are a kind of viceroys, or rather petty kings, ſometimes independent, and at others ſubject to the great mogul, according to the greater or leſs abilities of that emperor; that is, as he was more or leſs powerful.

After taking the town and fort of Chandenagore, the Engliſh continued without intermiſſion to ruin the French trade in India. The mogul government was ſo bad and weak, that it could not prevent the European traders from forming alliances, and making war upon each other, even in the heart of the empire. The Engliſh in particular had the boldneſs to attack Surat, one of the fineſt and largeſt trading cities in India, and which belonged to the emperor, which they took and plundered, deſtroying all the French warehouſes, and carrying off an immenſe booty; an act for which every Engliſhman ought to have been driven out of the country: but ſuch was the inability of the weak, though ſplendid court of the

great mogul, that it did not even dare to take any notice of this flagrant outrage *.

At length, after having forcibly taken almoſt all the ſhips belonging to the French Eaſt India company, they laid ſiege to Pondicherry, which was not defended as in the time of its governor M. Dupleix; but ſurrendered at diſcretion: ſo that the French had nothing left in that part of the world, but the regret of having expended immenſe ſums, during the ſpace of forty years, to ſupport a company that had never been of the leaſt advantage to the ſtate, had not even made a ſingle dividend to the proprietors or creditors out of the produce of its trade; that had ſubſiſted altogether by underhand dealings, and had been ſupported only by a part of the farm upon tobacco, which had been granted to it by the king: a memorable, though perhaps uſeleſs, example of the little knowledge the French have hitherto had of the extenſive and ruinous trade to India.

While the Engliſh were thus ruining the French, both by ſea and land, in the Eaſt, they likewiſe drove them out of the Weſt-Indies. The French were in poſſeſſion of the river of Senegal, one of the branches of the Niger, where they had ſeveral forts, and carried on a conſiderable trade in elephant's teeth, gold duſt, and negroes, which latter were ſold by their princes like beaſts of burden, and who ſometimes ſell their own children, or even themſelves, for ſlaves to the Europeans, who carry them over to America. The Engliſh took all the forts the French had built in theſe countries, together with all the valuable commodities they were poſſeſſed of, to the value of three millions of livres.

The laſt ſettlement the French had now left in this part of Africa was Goree, which ſoon after ſurrendered at diſcretion; and France was now ſtripped of all her poſſeſſions in that part of the world.

But

* This is only one inſtance of many, in the courſe of this work, in which Mr. de Voltaire has evidently departed from the impartiality of an hiſtorian, to indulge a national bias.

But her loſſes in America were ſtill greater. Without entering into a detail of the ſeveral engagements between the two nations, and the taking of all our forts one after another let it ſuffice to ſay, that the Engliſh made themſelves maſters of Louiſburgh for the ſecond time; that place being ſtill fortified, and badly provided, as it had been the firſt. In ſhort, the Engliſh, almoſt at the ſame time, took Surat, at the mouth of the river Indus, and made themſelves maſters of Quebec, and all Canada, at the extremity of North-America; the French troops, who had run the riſk of an engagement in order to ſave Quebec, having been defeated, and almoſt all cut in pieces.

At the ſame time, likewiſe, that the Engliſh were thus vigorouſly attacking the French on the continent of America, they caſt their eyes upon the iſlands belonging to that crown: and Guadaloupe, a ſmall but flouriſhing ſettlement, where the beſt ſugars are made, fell into their hands almoſt without ſtriking a blow.

They afterwards took Martinico, which was the beſt and richeſt of all the French colonies.

France could never have met with ſuch a ſeries of misfortunes, had ſhe not loſt almoſt all the ſhips ſhe ſent out to prevent them; no ſooner did a fleet put to ſea, but it was either taken or deſtroyed; new ſhips were put upon the ſtocks, or fitted out to repair the former loſs: but this was only working for the Engliſh, into whoſe hands they were certain of falling, almoſt as ſoon as they had left their harbours.

When the government, in order to revenge itſelf for ſo many loſſes, meditated a deſcent upon Ireland; this project, after coſting immenſe ſums, proved abortive; for no ſooner had the fleet, deſigned to make this deſcent, left the port of Breſt, than the ſhips, of which it conſiſted, were all of them diſperſed or taken by the enemy, or loſt in the mouth of a little river called the Villaine, whither they had run in vain for ſhelter. The Engliſh after this took the iſland of Belleiſle in ſight of the French

coaſt, from whence no ſuccours could be ſent to its aſſiſtance.

Never had the Engliſh ſo great a ſuperiority by ſea, though they have always been maſters over the French in that element. They ruined the French navy in the year 1741, and utterly deſtroyed that of Lewis XIV. in the war for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. They were maſters of the ſea in the reign of Lewis XIII. and Henry IV. and ſtill more ſo in the unfortunate times of the league. Henry VIII. of England had the ſame advantage over Francis I.

If you look back to former times, you will find that the fleets of Charles VI. and Philip of Valois could never make head againſt thoſe of Henry V. and Edward III.

But what can be the reaſon of this continual ſuperiority? Is it not that the ſea is the eſſential element of the Engliſh; whereas the French can upon occaſion do without it, and that every nation (as we have elſewhere obſerved) always ſucceeds beſt in thoſe things of which it ſtands abſolutely in need? May it not ariſe from the capital of England [illegible] being a ſea-port, whereas Paris, the metro[illegible]polis of France, ſees only a few boats [illegible] paſſing upon the Seine? Or, laſtly, may not the Engliſh climate and ſoil produce men of a more vigorous and robuſt habit of body, and minds more fitted to labours and fatigues, than that of France, in the ſame manner as it produces dogs and horſes more proper for the chaſe? But then, on the other hand, we know that the inhabitants of all that part of the coaſt of France, from Bourdeaux to Picardy and Flanders, are capable of undergoing the hardeſt labours; and the province of Normandy alone has heretofore conquered all England.

Affairs were in this deplorable ſituation both by ſea and land, when there aroſe a perſon of an active and enterprizing genius, who undertook to retrieve all. He was ſenſible that France was not able, by her own ſtrength alone, to repair the loſſes ſhe had ſuſtained. He therefore engaged the court of Spain to eſpouſe her

her quarrel: he united all the branches of the houſe of Bourbon in one common cauſe; and made the intereſts of Spain, Auſtria, and France, the ſame. Portugal was in fact a kind of province to England, who drew from thence near five millions yearly: it was therefore thought adviſeable to ſtrike the firſt blow here: and don Carlos, lately become king of Spain, by the death of his brother, determined to invade the Portugueſe territories. This was, perhaps, one of the greateſt ſtrokes in politics that is to be met with in hiſtory.

THE INTERIOR GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE.

Diſputes and Encounters, from the Year 1750 to the Year 1762.

A Conſiderable time before the breaking out of this war, as alſo during its courſe, the interior government of France had been diſturbed by the old and inextinguiſhable diſpute between the ſecular and eccleſiaſtical juriſdictions, as the limits of neither have as yet been properly aſcertained, as is the caſe in England, and many other countries, particularly in Ruſſia: this will prove the ſource of dangerous diſſentions, ſo long as the rights of the crown, and thoſe of the different orders of the ſtate, remain in diſpute.

In the year 1750 we had a miniſter of the finances, who had the courage to order the clergy and religious orders, to deliver in a ſtate of their effects, in order that the king might ſee from their revenues what they owed to the government. Nothing could be more juſt and equitable than this propoſal; but it was attended with conſequences that had the appearance of ſacrilege. The old biſhop of Marſeilles wrote to the comptroller-general as follows, "Do not put yourſelf under the neceſſity of diſobeying either God or the king; you cannot but know to whom you owe the preference."

This

This letter, ſent in the name of a ſuperannuated prelate, who could not write, was, in reality, the work of a Jeſuit, named *le Maire*, who had the direction of the conſcience of him and his houſhold, and was a fanatic from principle, which are ever the moſt dangerous kind of people.

The miniſter then was obliged to drop his deſign, which he ought not to have undertaken, unleſs he could have gone through with it. Some of the clergy took advantage of this, and endeavoured to cut out work for the government by ſounding the alarm upon ſpiritual matters, hoping that the general confuſion would prevent any attack being made upon their temporals. They knew that the bull *Unigenitus* was held in abhorrence by the common people, they accordingly reſolved to oblige all dying perſons to give a certificate or billet of confeſſion, which billets were to be ſigned by thoſe prieſts who were ſticklers for the bull, without which there could be no extreme unction, nor adminiſtration of the ſacrament in the laſt moments; and theſe two comforts were refuſed without pity to all thoſe who were appellants (that is, who objected to the bull) or who confeſſed themſelves to appellants. The archbiſhop of Paris joined in this ſcheme more through a dogmatical zeal than the ſpirit of cabal.

And now every family was alarmed, all ſchiſm was renounced, thoſe who were called Janſeniſts began to declare openly, that if it was ſo difficult to obtain the ſacraments, people would very ſoon learn to do without them, as well as they did in ſo many other countries.

The curate of St. Stephen Dumont, a little pariſh in Paris, having refuſed the ſacrament to a counſellor of the Chatelet, the parliament threw the curate into priſon.

The king, obſerving theſe beginnings of a little civil war between his parliament and the clergy, forbad his courts of judicature to concern themſelves in matters relating to the ſacraments, reſerving the cognizance thereof for his privy council. The parliaments com-

plained that this order took from them the exercise of the general police of the kingdom, and the clergy could not with patience suffer that the royal authority should pretend to decide in religious controversies.

Matters began now to grow warm on all sides, when the place of superior to an hospital for young women falling vacant, and the archbishop of Paris pretending that he had the sole right of nomination, the flames of discord began to break out with fury.

The parliament opposed the archbishop's pretensions; and the king having given it in his favour, the parliament desisted from its functions, and refused to administer justice. The king found himself under the necessity of sending his musqueteers with letters de cachet to all the members of that court, commanding them to resume their functions, on pain of being punished for disobedience.

Upon this the chambers continued to sit as usual, but when any causes came to be tried, there was no advocate found to plead. This resembled in some manner the times of the league, but without the horrors of civil war. It was rather a matter of folly and ridicule.

This folly, however, was perplexing. The king determined to extinguish by moderation these sparks which might have lighted up a dangerous flame, and to this end exhorted the clergy not to make use of unwarrantable severities. The parliament likewise resumed all its functions.

But it was not long before the billets of confession made their appearance again, and some fresh refusals of the sacraments set all Paris a murmuring. The curate of St. Stephen's before-mentioned being found guilty of a second prevarication, was sent for before the parliament, who prohibited him, and all other curates from giving the like cause of scandal for the future, under pain of forfeiting their temporaities. By the same arret the archbishop of Paris was invited to exert his authority in putting an end to this cause of complaint. The term *invited*, seemed to agree with the

the plan of moderation adopted by the king, But the archbiſhop, not bearing that a ſecular court of juſtice ſhould even pretend to the right of inviting him to do any thing, went to complain of it at Verſailles. He was encouraged in this ſtep by the old biſhop of Mirepoix, named Boyer, who was appointed by the miniſtry to preſent proper perſons for having church-livings to the king. This man had formerly been a Theatine, was afterwards made a biſhop, and then became a miniſter; he was a perſon of very narrow conceptions, but a zealous ſtickler for the rights of the clergy. He looked upon the bull as an article of faith, and making uſe of all the influence which his place gave him, he perſuaded the court that the parliament had made an attack upon the privileges of the church; upon which their arret was annulled. On this occaſion that body made ſome very ſtrong and pathetic remonſtrances.

The king very prudently ordered them to confine themſelves to giving him an account of all the informations they ſhould receive on theſe ſubjects, reſerving to himſelf the right of puniſhing thoſe prieſts whoſe offenſive zeal might ſow the ſeeds of ſchiſm among his ſubjects. He likewiſe forbade, by an arret of his council of ſtate, any one to give another the name of Innovator, Janſeniſt, or Semipelagian. This was ordering madmen to be wiſe.

The curates of Paris, at the inſtigation of the archbiſhop, preſented a petition to the king in favour of the billets of confeſſion. Immediately upon this the parliament ſuſpended the curates of St. Jean en Grêve, who had drawn up the petition. The king again annuls their proceedings, and the parliament again deſiſts from its functions, and perſiſts in the remonſtrances; the king on his ſide continues to exhort both parties to peace. But it was all labour in vain.

The parliament ordered a letter of the biſhop of Marſeilles, which had been laid before them, to be burnt by the hands of the common executioner, and condemned a book wrote by the biſhop of Amiens. The aſſembly of the clergy, who ſat at that time in Paris,

Paris, as they do every five years, to pay their ſubſidies to the king, came to a reſolution to wait upon him with their complaints, dreſſed in their canonicals; but the king would not permit this extraordinary ceremony.

The parliament, on the other hand, condemned one of the porters who carry the hoſt, to make the *amende*, to aſk pardon on his knees, and to receive a reprimand; and a vicar of a pariſh to be baniſhed. The king annulled this arret alſo.

Theſe kinds of proceedings became every day more common; the king ſtill recommended peace, the biſhops ſtill continued to refuſe the ſacraments, and the parliament to condemn their proceedings.

At length, the king gave the parliament permiſſion to give ſentence in the affair of the ſacraments, in caſe any cauſe of that kind ſhould be brought before it; but he, at the ſame time, forbad it to ſeek out for ſuch cauſes. The parliament then reſumed its functions a ſecond time, and the ſeveral parties, whoſe lawſuits had been neglected for theſe affairs, were again at liberty to ruin themſelves as uſual.

Nevertheleſs, the flame was not ſo entirely quenched but that it continued to ſmother in private. The archbiſhop had given orders to refuſe the ſacraments to a couple of poor old nuns of St. Agatha, who had formerly heard their confeſſor ſay that the bull *unigenitus* was the work of the devil, were afraid of being damned if they ſubſcribed to this bull on their death-bed, and were alſo afraid of being damned if they ſhould die without receiving extreme unction. The parliament thereupon ſent their regiſter to the archbiſhop to deſire him not to refuſe theſe two women the uſual comforts. The archbiſhop anſwered in his uſual manner, that he was accountable for his conduct to God only; in conſequence of which anſwer the parliament ſeized upon his temporalties, and invited the princes of the blood and the peers to come and take their ſeats in the houſe.

The

The diſpute had now the appearance of becoming ſerious, and people began to fear a renewal of the times of the league. The king forbade the princes and peers to go and vote in the parliament of Paris on matters which he had reſerved for the cognizance of his privy council. The archbiſhop had alſo intereſt enough to get the little community of St. Agatha diſſolved for entertaining ſo bad an opinion of the bull *unigenitus*.

All Paris murmured at theſe proceedings, which affected the peace of ſeveral other parts of the kingdom, in particular the city of Orleans, which was in confuſion on account of the refuſal of the ſacraments: the parliament gave the ſame decrees in regard to that city as to Paris, and ſchiſm was advancing with large ſtrides A curate in the dioceſe of Amiens took it in his head one Sunday in the middle of his ſermon, to deſire all thoſe of his congregation, "who were "Janſeniſts, to leave the church, and that he ſhould "be the firſt who would waſh his hands in their "blood." He had even the audaciouſneſs to mention ſome of his pariſhioners by name, who were thereupon pelted with ſtones by ſome of the moſt zealous conſtitutioniſts as they came out of church, though it is very certain that neither the one nor the other knew any thing at all of what the bull or janſeniſm meant.

An outrage of this kind was puniſhable with death. The parliament of Paris, in whoſe juriſdiction Amiens is, contented itſelf with ſentencing the factious and blood thirſty prieſt to perpetual baniſhment; and the king approved of the ſentence, as it did not relate to a crime merely ſpiritual, but to the illegal act of a ſeditious and turbulent perſon, and a diſturber of the public peace.

During theſe commotions Lewis XV. acted like a father who endeavours to part his children when fighting with each other. He forbade all manner of inſult or abuſe; he reprimanded ſome, and exhorted others; he enjoined ſilence, forbade the parliament

liament from paſſing ſentence on ſpiritual matters, and recommended to the biſhops to uſe circumſpection in regard to the bull, which he looked upon as a law of the church, but would not have this dangerous law made the ſubject of conteſt. But all this paternal care proved of little effect on minds heated with oppoſition and fears. The parliaments pretended that they could not ſeparate the *ſpiritual* from the *civil*, ſeeing that *ſpiritual* diſputes neceſſarily introduced with them diſputes of ſtate.

It ſummoned the biſhop of Orleans to appear for having refuſed the ſacraments. It ordered all the books and papers, which had diſputed its juriſdiction, to be burnt by the hands of the hangman, excepting only the king's declarations. It ſent ſome of its counſellors to have its decrees regiſtered at the Sorbonne, and concluded with deſiſting a third time from the exerciſe of its functions, of trying cauſes between individuals, in order to give its attention wholly to the affair of the ſacraments.

The king, on his ſide, ſent a third time his letter of juſſion, commanding them to proceed to the exerciſe of their duty, and no longer to make his ſubjects ſuffer in their private concerns for theſe general diſputes; obſerving, that the law-ſuits of individuals had nothing to do with the bull *unigenitus*.

The parliament returned for anſwer, that they could not acknowledge the king's letters patent, without violating the oath they had taken, neither could they *obtemperate*. When they came to enquire at Verſailles into the meaning of this word, it was, to the ſurprize of every one, found to mean *obey*.

The king then was obliged to order all the members of the court of Inqueſts (*Enquêtes*) into baniſhment; ſome were ſent to Bourges, others to Poitiers, and others to Auvergne; and three of the moſt violent were impriſoned.

The great chamber was ſpared, but its members thought their honour concerned not to accept of this indulgence; and therefore perſiſted in not hearing cauſes,

cauſes, and continued their proceedings againſt the curates. The king upon this baniſhed them to Pontoiſe, a village about ſix leagues diſtance from Paris; whither the duke of Orleans had before ſent them during his regency.

The parliament of Normandy followed the example of that of Paris, in relation to the ſacraments. It ſummoned the biſhop of Evreux to appear and to deſiſt from his functions. The king ſent an officer of his guards to cancel the regiſters of this parliament, which at length became more tractable than that of Paris.

The ſtop put to diſtributive juſtice in the capital, would have been productive of great happineſs to mankind, had they been either wiſe or juſt; but as they are neither, and that there is a neceſſity for law, the king commiſſioned certain members of his council of ſtate, to ſit and terminate the ſeveral cauſes depending *en dernier reſſort*; the court endeavoured to get the erection of this new Chamber regiſtered in the Chatelet, as if the authority of an inferior court of juſtice was neceſſary to eſtabliſh that of the ſovereign. This cuſtom of regiſtering had always had its inconveniencies; but the omiſſion of this ceremony would have been attended with others ſtill greater. The Chatelet refuſed to regiſter till forced to it by letters of juſſion. The Royal Chamber then began to ſit; but the advocates would not plead, and this court was the jeſt of all Paris, and indeed, of itſelf; a[illegible]re able to the known diſpoſition of the French, who laugh the next day at what filled them with dread the day before. The clergy, likewiſe, joined in the laugh, but it was for having got the victory.

Boyer, the old biſhop of Mirepoix, who, without knowing it, had been the original cauſe of theſe diſturbances, being now grown childiſh, and worn out with age, every thing ſeemed to promiſe fair for a reconciliation. The miniſtry entered into an amicable diſcuſſion of matters with the parliament; that body was recalled, to the general ſatisfaction of the whole city,

city, who received them at their return with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy; the populace ſhouting as they paſſed, *Vive le parlement*; ſo that they returned in perfect triumph. The king, wearied out with the obſtinate inflexibility of the clergy, and of the parliament, enjoined peace and ſilence, and permitted the ſecular judges to proceed againſt all ſuch who ſhould be found troubling the public peace.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſalutary precautions, the ſpirit of ſchiſm broke out from time to time in Paris, and the provinces; and ſeveral biſhops, in ſpite of the king's orders in regard to the ſacrament, ſtrove to make a merit with the court of Rome, by refuſing them. The biſhop of Nantes, in particular, having ſet this example of diſobedience and offenſive rigour in his city, was, by the ſimple preſident-court at Nantes, condemned in a fine of 6000 franks, which he was obliged to pay; nor did the king interfere, being heartily tired of theſe diſputes

Numberleſs ſcenes of this kind happened throughout the kingdom, which, though they might be melancholy for thoſe intereſted in them, were, in general, matters of amuſement to the idle multitude. At Orleans, an old Janſeniſt canon, being upon his death-bed, his brethern refuſed to give him the ſacraments, for which the parliament of Paris fined them twelve thouſand livres; and ordered that the ſacrament ſhould be given to the ſick man. In conſequence of this order, the lieutenant-criminal diſpoſed every thing for this ceremony, as if it had been for an execution; in the mean time, the canons managed matters ſo well, that their brother died without having the ſacrament, and they buried him as privately as poſſible.

Nothing was more common at this time than receiving the ſacrament by act of parliament. The king, who had baniſhed the judges for refuſing to *obtemperate*, was willing to hold the balance even, by baniſhing, in their turns, the clergy for perſiſting in their ſchiſm. He accordingly began with the archbiſhop of Paris, whom he ordered to retire to his houſe at Conflans,

ſians, three leagues diſtant from the city: a very candid ſentence, and that had more the air of a fatherly admonition than a puniſhment.

The biſhops of Orleans and Troyes were, by the like mild ſentence, baniſhed to their country-houſes. The archbiſhop of Paris being found as inflexible in his country-houſe, as in his epiſcopal reſidence, was baniſhed to a farther diſtance from the capital.

The parliament, who now found itſelf at liberty to act, reprimanded the Sorbonne, who, though it formerly held the bull in deteſtation, now looked upon it as an article of faith. This latter threatened to deſiſt from giving leſſons; and the parliament, who had itſelf deſiſted from more important functions, ordered the faculty to continue theirs; in ſo doing it maintained the rights of the Gallican church. The king approved of this proceeding, but when it would go further, he put a ſtop to it; and while he confirmed ſuch of its decrees which tended to the public good, he annulled others in which he thought he ſaw want of proper circumſpection.

Thus was this monarch continually in the midſt of two powerful and incenſed parties, like the Roman emperors between the white and green factions: his attention was alſo engaged by the hoſtilities which the Engliſh had begun againſt him at ſea; and a land war ſeemed unavoidable. This was therefore no time to diſpute about bulls

He was likewiſe under the neceſſity of quieting the conteſts between the great council and his parliaments; for as there are few or no poſitive laws in France to determine any particular point, as the rights and privileges of the ſeveral orders are unſettled; and that of the clergy have always endeavoured to extend its juriſdiction. As the Chambers of accounts have diſputed many of the privileges of the parliaments, and the peers have frequently pleaded theirs againſt the parliament of Paris, it is not to be wondered that the great council ſhould have diſputes with that body likewiſe.

This

This great council was originally the council of the kings of France, and accompanied them wherever they went; but, as every thing has changed by degrees in the public adminiſtration, the great council underwent a change alſo. In the reign of Charles VIII. it was only a court of judicature: it now determines concerning appeals, the qualifications of judges, and all cauſes relating to benefices within the kingdom, excepting thoſe of the *Regale*. It has alſo the privilege of judging its own officers.

A counſellor of this court having been brought before the Chatelet for an affair of debt, the great council called the cauſe before them, and annulled the ſentence of the Chatelet. Upon this the parliament takes the alarm, and annuls the decree of the great council, and the king ſets aſide the arret of the parliament. This occaſions ſuch remonſtrances and diſputes, that all the parliaments attack the great council, and the public take different ſides. The parliament of Paris again invites the peers to be preſent at this diſpute between the two bodies; and the king again forbids them *to aſſociate*: this affair remains like many others undecided.

The king, in the mean time, was occupied with matters of greater importance. He had a burthenſome war to carry on againſt the Engliſh, both by ſea and land. At the ſame time, he laid that memorable foundation of a military ſchool, which forms the nobleſt monument of his reign; and which the empreſs-queen has ſince imitated. He wanted ſupplies to carry on all thoſe operations, and the parliament was very backward in regiſtering the edicts for levying two *vingtiemes*; though they have ſince been obliged to grant three, for in time of war, the ſubjects muſt either fight, or pay thoſe who do; there is no alternative.

The king held a bed of juſtice at Verſailles; to which he ſummoned the princes of the blood, and peers, together with the parliament of Paris, and here he cauſed his edicts to be regiſtered; but, as ſoon as the

e parliament returned to Paris, it proteſted againſt is regiſtering; pretending, that not only it had not een permitted the neceſſary liberty of inquiry, but ſo that this edict required ſuch modifications, as ight not be injurious to the intereſt of the king, nor oſe of the ſtate, which were one and the ſame, nd which by its oath it was bound to defend: adding rthermore, that its duty was not to pleaſe, but to rve. Thus zeal was at variance with obedience.

The old leaven of ſchiſm was mixed with this imortant affair of the taxes. A counſellor of the parament being taken ill at his country-ſeat, in the diceſe of Meaux, deſired to have the ſacraments adminiſtered to him; but was refuſed by a curate as being n enemy to the church, and he died without having his ceremony performed: upon this the curate was roceeded againſt, who made his eſcape.

The archbiſhop of Aix had made a new formulary n the bull, for which the parliament of Aix ſentenced im to pay a fine of ten thouſand livres to the poor, with which he was obliged to comply, and ſo got clear, with the loſs of his formulary and his money. The biſhop of Troyes having raiſed ſome diſturbances in his dioceſe, the king ſent him into confinement among he monks of Alſace. The archbiſhop of Paris, who had been permitted to return to his houſe at Conflans, declared all ſuch perſons excommunicated who ſhould read the arrets and remonſtrances of the parliaments, concerning the bull and billets of confeſſion.

Lewis XV. whom theſe variances greatly perplexed, carried his circumſpection ſo far as to ſend to pope Benedict XIV. (*Lambertini*) for his advice; a perſon of as a moderate diſpoſition as himſelf, beloved by all Chriſtendom for his mild and pleaſing carriage, and whoſe loſs we at preſent more and more regret. He never interfered in any affair but with a view to make peace. His ſecretary of the briefs, cardinal Paſſionei, managed every thing. The cardinal, who was the only one in the ſacred college at that time, who was a man

man of letters, had too exalted an underſtanding not to deſpiſe all theſe diſputes; he hated the jeſuits for having drawn up this bull, and could not keep himſelf from blaming the ill-adviſed conduct of the court of Rome, in condemning, by this bull, maxims in themſelves virtuous, unalterably true, and ſuitable to all times, and every nation; ſuch, for inſtance, as the following: "The fear of excommunication ought "not to prevent any one from acting agreeable to his "duty." A maxim that is the ſupport and defence of virtue throughout the world. Both antients and moderns have, in all times, agreed, that our duty ought to prevail over the fear of puniſhment.

But ſtrange as this bull might appear in more than one article, neither cardinal Paſſionei, nor the pope, could repeal a conſtitution which was looked upon as a law of the church. Benedict XIV. therefore, ſent the king a circular letter for all the biſhops of France, in which he does, indeed, conſider this bull as an univerſal law, which is not to be oppoſed, "without en-"dangering our eternal happineſs;" but then he concludes with this deciſion, that, "in order to avoid "ſcandal, the prieſt ſhould acquaint ſome dying per-"ſons who are ſuſpected of being Janſeniſts, that they "will be damned, and then adminiſter the ſacrament "to them at their own riſk and peril."

The ſame pontiff, in his private letter to the king, recommended the epiſcopal rights to his protection. Whoever conſults a pope in any age, muſt expect that he will anſwer as a pope ought to do.

But Benedict XIV. at the ſame time that he obſerved every thing that was due to his ſtation, was not wanting in what he owed to peace, good order, and the authority of the prince. The pope's brief to the biſhops was printed, when the parliament had the courage, or, if you will, the temerity to publiſh an arret, condemning it, and ordering it to be ſuppreſſed. This ſtep was the more offenſive to the king, as he himſelf had ſent this brief to the biſhops, in which there was nothing

that

hat concerned either the liberties of the Gallican church, r the rights of the ſovereign, of which the parliament ave, in all times, been the protectors and avengers; ſo hat the preſent cenſure paſſed by that body ſeemed to vour more of ill humour than moderation.

The council now thought it had found a new reaſon o condemn the conduct of the parliament of Paris: ſeeral other ſuperior courts, who have the names of arliaments, were called, *Claſſes of the parliament of the ingdom*; a title which had been given them by the hancellor de l'Hopital, and ſignified no more than the nion of the ſeveral parliaments in the knowledge and aintaining of the laws. The parliament did not preend to repreſent the whole ſtate, as divided into diffeent companies, which, altogether, making one body, onſtituted the general ſtates of the kingdom; this would ndeed have been a grand idea, but it would have been oo much ſo, and might have proved offenſive to the oyal authority.

Theſe conſiderations, joined to the difficulties made n regard to the regiſtering the money-edicts, determind the king to hold a bed of juſtice, and there make n alteration in the parliament of Paris.

However private the miniſtry kept this deſign, it got vind; and, when the king came to Paris, he was reeived with a mournful ſilence. The common people onſider the parliament merely as the oppoſer of taxes, ithout ever examining whether theſe taxes are neceſry, or once reflecting, that the ſeveral commodities in hich they deal, ſell at a higher price in proportion to hoſe taxes; and that the burthen at length falls on he rich. Theſe latter again complain in their turn, nd, by their murmurings, encourage thoſe of the pouulace.

The Engliſh have been more burthened than the rench in this war; but in England the nation taxes itelf, and knows what fund is eſtabliſhed for the payent of the ſums raiſed. On the contrary, the French re taxed without ever knowing on what the funds deined for ſuch payment are to be aſſigned. In England there

there are no private persons who contract with the government for furnishing the sums to be raised by the taxes, and who enrich themselves at the expence of the nation, which is the case in France. The French parliaments have made repeated remonstrances to their kings against this abuse; but there are certain times in which those remonstrances, and the difficulties about registering, are more dangerous than even the taxes, by reason that the exigencies of war demand instant supplies; whereas the abuse of these supplies is not to be amended but with time.

The king then came to the parliament, and caused an edict to be read, by which he suppressed two chambers of that body, and several officers. He ordered due respect to be paid to the Bull Unigenitus, forbade the secular judges to prescribe the administering the sacraments, leaving them at liberty only to take cognizance of the abuses or crimes committed under such administration. He enjoined the curates to observe moderation and discretion, and desired that all past disputes *might be buried in oblivion.*

He ordered that no counsellor should be admitted to consultation under the age of twenty-five, and that no person should be entitled to vote in the assembly of the chambers, till he had served ten years; and he concluded with laying the most strict injunctions that no one should, *on any pretext whatsoever, interrupt the customary business of the court.*

The chancellor, for form's sake, demanded the opinions of the members, but every one kept profound silence. The king said he would be obeyed, and that he would *severely punish any one who should depart from his duty.*

The next day, fifteen counsellors of the great chamber resigned their office in court: an hundred and twenty members of the parliament followed their example soon afterwards. Upon this, there was an universal murmuring throughout the city; but these commotions were soon swallowed up in a general consternation, occasioned by an unexpected and shocking accident. The king was stabbed on the 5th of January in his own court,

court, at Verſailles, in preſence of his ſon, and ſurrounded by his guards and all the great officers of the crown. This extraordinary affair happened in the manner following.

A wretch of the dregs of the people, named Robert Francis Damiens, born in a little village, in the neighbourhood of Arras, had lived a conſiderable time as a ſervant in ſeveral houſes in Paris: this man was of a paſſionate and gloomy diſpoſition, approaching to a degree of madneſs.

The general murmurings which he had heard in public places and in the great hall of the parliament-houſe, had heated his indignation. He ſet out for Verſailles, like a man who knew nor whither he was going; and in the agitations of mind which muſt neceſſarily have attended the horrible deſign he had conceived, he deſired, while at the public-houſe where he lodged, that a ſurgeon might be ſent for to bleed him. Phyſical prepoſſeſſions have ſo great an influence upon the human mind, that this man ſaid, upon his examination, that "had he been bled when he deſired it, he was convinced he ſhould not have committed this horrible "crime."

The deſign he had formed was the moſt extraordinary that had ever entered into the head of any monſter of this kind. He had no intention to kill the king, as he himſelf abſolutely declared after he was apprehended, (and which indeed he had but too fair an opportunity to do) but only deſigned to wound him, as appears by the following declaration, which he made before the parliament, at the time of his trial.

"I had no intention to kill the king, which I might "have done, had I been ſo inclined: I only did it, that "God might touch the king's heart, and work on him, "to reſtore things to their former footing, and give "peace to his kingdom. The archbiſhop of Paris is "the ſole cauſe of all theſe troubles."

This notion had got ſuch a thorough poſſeſſion of his mind, that, in another of his anſwers, he ſays;

"I mentioned the names of ſome counſellors of the "parliament, becauſe I was formerly ſervant to one;

"and

" and that they are almoſt all to a man furiouſly incenſ-
" ed againſt the archbiſhop."

In ſhort, this unhappy wretch was ſo loſt in fanati-ciſm, that, in the examination he underwent at Ver-ſailles, we find the following paſſage.

" Being interrogated what motives had induced him,
" to make an attempt upon the perſon of his ſovereign,
" he replied, *It was for religion's ſake.*"

All thoſe who have attempted the lives of chriſtian princes have made uſe of this pretext. The king of Portugal had not been aſſaulted, but for the deciſion of three jeſuits. It is ſufficiently known, that Henry III. and IV. of France fell by the hands of fanatics; but there was this difference between them and Lewis XV. that they were murdered, becauſe they appeared to be enemies to the pope, and he was ſtabbed for having ſeemed deſirous to oblige the pope.

The aſſaſſin had provided himſelf with a claſp knife, one ſide of which had a long ſharp-pointed blade, and the other was to cut pens with, and was about four inches long. He waited for the inſtant the king was to get into his coach to go to Trianon. It was near ſix o'clock in the evening, the day-light was ſhut in, the weather was exceſſively cold, ſo that almoſt all the court were wrapped up in large cloaks, called *redingotes*. The villain, who wore one of the ſame, puſhes through the guards, bruſhes the dauphin as he paſſes by him, gets in between the body-guard and the king, ſtrikes him with his pen knife under the fifth rib, returns his knife into his pocket again, and remains in his place with his hat upon his head. The king, finding himſelf wound-ed, turns about his head, and ſeeing a ſtrange man ſtand-ing cloſe by him, with his hat on, and his eyes ſtaring wildly, cries out, " That is the perſon who has wound-
" ed me, ſecure him; but let no one do him any hurt."

While every body was in amazement and horror, and they were carrying the king to his bed, and ſending for the ſurgeons to examine if the wound was mortal, or the weapon had been poiſoned, the aſſaſſin cried out ſeveral times, " Look to the dauphin! do not ſuffer him to ſtir
" abroad all day."

Upon

Upon this, the general terror is redoubled; no one doubts but that there is a plot formed to cut off the royal family, and that the moſt bloody and premeditated horrors are about to enſue.

Happily the king's wound was but ſlight; but the apprehenſions of the public were far from being ſo; and the whole court was filled with fear, diſtruſt, and intrigues. The grand provoſt of the houſhold, who, by his office, is to take cognizance of all crimes committed within the king's palace, immediately took the murderer into cuſtody, and proceeded to bring him to trial, in like manner as had been obſerved in the caſe of the murderer of Henry III. at St. Cloud. An exempt of the provoſt's guard, having, in appearance or reality, gained ſome kind of confidence over the diſordered mind of this miſcreant, perſuaded him to have the inſolence to write a letter to his majeſty from his priſon*.

* The letter was as follows:

SIRE,

I am extremely ſorry that I have been ſo unfortunate as to approach your ſacred perſon; but if you do not take the part of your people, before many years are paſſed, both you and the dauphin, and ſome others, will come to an untimely end. It would be a pity that ſo good a prince ſhould be in danger of his life, on account of the too great indulgence he ſhews to the clergy, in whom alone he ſeems to put all his confidence; and if you are not ſo good as to alter this in a ſhort time, very fatal conſequences will follow, your kingdom not being ſafe; becauſe, unfortunately for you, your ſubjects have given you their diſmiſſion; this affair coming altogether from them. And if you have not the goodneſs for your people to order that the ſacraments be adminiſtered to them when they are dying, which comfort you have refuſed them ſince holding your bed of juſtice, and the Chatelet having ſold the goods of the prieſt who made his eſcape; I repeat to you, that your life is in danger, on the information (which is very true) that I take the liberty of acquainting you with, by the Officer who brings this letter, and in whom I have placed all my confidence.

The archbiſhop of Paris is the cauſe of all the diſturbance about the ſacraments, by having refuſed them. After the cruel crime I have lately committed againſt your ſacred perſon, the ſincere confeſſion I now take the liberty of making, will, I hope, entitle me to your majeſty's goodneſs and clemency.

Signed DAMIENS.

On

The letter is that of a madman, and is wrote in a ſtile agreeable to his abject condition; but it diſcovers the real cauſe of his madneſs: it is evident that the complaints of the parliament and of the public againſt the archbiſhop, had turned the brain of the criminal, and had ſtirred him up to this attempt. It appeared, by the names of the members of parliament, mentioned in his letter, that he knew them, but not that they had ever made him acquainted with their ſentiments; much leſs that they had ever ſpoke a word, that could have encouraged him to the commiſſion of this crime.

Accordingly, the king made no ſcruple to put the examination of the priſoner into the hands of thoſe members

On the back of this letter was written, in a flouriſh, *ne varietur*, by, and according to the deſire of the examinatiou of the aforeſaid Francis Damiens, dated this 9th of January, one thouſand ſeven hundred fifty and ſeven, at Verſailles, the king being there.

Signed DAMIENS.

Le Clerc, du Brillet, and du Voigne, with a flouriſh.

A little lower was written;

To the KING.

Here follows the tenor of a writing, ſigned DAMIENS.

Copy of the Note.

MESSIEURS
Chagrange; Seconde.
Baiſſe de Liſſe.
De la Guiomye.
Clement.
Lambert.
The Preſident de Rieux Bonnainvillers
The Preſident de Mazi, and almoſt all.

He muſt reinſtate his parliament, and protect it, with a promiſe not to do any thing to the underwritten and company.

Signed DAMIENS.

Lower again was written;

In a flouriſh, *ne varietur*, by, and according to the deſire of the examination, this ninth January, one thouſand ſeven hundred fifty and ſeven.

Signed DAMIENS.

Le Clerc, du Brillet, and du Voigne, with a flouriſh.

The ſaid letter, as well as the ſaid writing, annexed to the minute of the examination.

bers of the great chamber who had not reſigned. He even would have the princes and peers be preſent at this trial, in order to render it more ſolemn and authentic in the eyes of the prying and diſtruſtful multitude, who always ſee more than the truth in theſe ſhocking events. But, indeed, truth never appeared more manifeſt. It is evident, that this madam had no accomplice; he conſtantly declared, that he did not deſign to kill the king, but that he had formed the deſign of making an attempt upon his perſon, ever ſince the baniſhment of the parliament.

While undergoing the torture, he declared, that "he imagined he was doing a meritorious act in the ſight "of God; and I have heard all the prieſts about the "court of juſtice ſay the ſame."

He perſiſted to the laſt, in ſaying, that it was the archbiſhop of Paris, the refuſal of the ſacraments, and the baniſhing of the parliament, that had induced him to make this attempt: he declared the ſame to his confeſſor, and died with the ſame ſentiments in the midſt of the ſame tortures that had been inflicted upon Ravaillac.

His father, his wife, and his daughter, though innocent, were baniſhed the kingdom, on pain of being hanged, if ever they came back again; and by the ſame arret, all his relations were obliged to lay aſide the names of Damiens, now become execrable.

This accident made an impreſſion for ſome time on the minds of thoſe, who, by their ill-timed diſputes about religion, had been the cauſe of this atrocious crime. They ſaw but too plainly the direful effects of the ſpirit of dogmatiſing and enthuſiaſtic fury. No one could have imagined that a bull and billets of confeſſion would have had ſuch fatal conſequences; but we generally find the follies and wickedneſs of mankind thus connected with each other; and that the ſpirit of Poltrot and James Clement, which was thought long ago extinct, ſtill ſubſiſts. Reaſon in vain makes its way to the minds of the better part of the nation, the populace will always be the dupe of fanaticiſm, and perhaps there is no other remedy againſt this contagion, but by enlightening the minds of

that populace; whereas they are generally trained up in ignorance and ſuperſtition, and afterwards we are amazed to ſee the effects ſuch an education produces.

During theſe tranſactions, ſixteen counſellors, who had reſigned their ſeats, were ſent into baniſhment; and one of them, who was a clerk, founded a perpetual maſs of thankſgiving to God, for having ſaved the life of the monarch who had baniſhed him.

Several officers of the parliament of Bezançon were alſo confined in different towns, for having not only refuſed to regiſter the edict for raiſing a ſecond *vingtieme*, but having alſo iſſued a writ to ſeize the perſon of the intendant of the province.

The king, notwithſtanding the attempt made upon his life, and the deſtructive war he had to ſupport, applied himſelf ſtrenuouſly to put an end to the diſputes between the parliaments and the clergy; endeavouring to confine each order within its reſpective bounds. He again baniſhed the archbiſhop of Paris for having diſobeyed his injunctions, only in the election of the ſuperior of a convent, and afterwards recalled him, thus rendering his authority more reſpected by his moderation. At length theſe heats ſubſided of themſelves, and thoſe members of the parliament of Paris who had reſigned their ſeats returned to them again, and reſumed their functions. Every thing now wears the appearance of tranquillity in the interior part of the kingdom, till a miſtaken zeal, and a ſpirit of party, give birth to new troubles.

PLOT to aſſaſſinate the King of PORTUGAL. The Jeſuits driven out of that kingdom, and great part of FRANCE.

A Religious order is not a ſubject for hiſtory. No one of the hiſtorians of antiquity have entered into a detail of the inſtitutions of the prieſts of Cybele or Juno; but it is one of the unhappineſſes of our European policy, that the monks, whoſe very inſtitution ſeems to ſeclude them from the notice of the world, have made

as

as much noiſe in it as the greateſt princes, as well on account of their immenſe riches, as through the commotions and troubles they have continually raiſed ſince their firſt foundation.

The jeſuits, as we have already ſhewn, were abſolute lords in Paraguay, though they acknowledged the king of Spain as their ſovereign. The court of Madrid having by a treaty of exchange ceded certain diſtricts in that country to Joſeph of Braganza, king of Portugal, the jeſuits were accuſed of having oppoſed this ceſſion, and having ſtirred up thoſe villages, that were to paſs under the dominion of the Portugueze, to revolt. This complaint, joined to many others, occaſioned the jeſuits to be baniſhed from the court of Liſbon.

Some little time afterwards, the family of Tavora, and in particular, the duke d'Aveiro, uncle to the young counteſs Ataïda d'Atouguia, the old marquis and marchioneſs of Tavora, her father and mother, and likewiſe her own huſband, the count of Ataïda, and one of the brothers of this unfortunate lady, having, as they thought, received an irreparable affront from the king, reſolved to be revenged. Revenge and ſuperſtition, for the moſt part, act in concert with each other. Thoſe of our communion, who meditate the commiſſion of any great crime, generally ſeek for caſuiſts and confeſſors to quiet their ſcruples. The family who thought itſelf injured applied to three jeſuits, named *Malagrida*, *Alexander*, and *Mathos*, who gave it as their opinion, that killing the king was no more than a *venial* ſin.

The better to underſtand this opinion, you are to know, that caſuiſts make a diſtinction between ſins for which a man goes immediately to hell, and thoſe for which he goes only into purgatory for a certain time; between thoſe for which a prieſt can give abſolution, on ſaying certain prayers, or paying a ſum of money in alms, and thoſe which may be abſolved without making ſatisfaction; the firſt of theſe are called *mortal*, the ſecond *venial* ſins.

Auricular confeſſion gave riſe to regicide in Portugal, as it had before done in many other countries. Such is the deplorable ſtate of human nature, (as we have too

often had occaſion to ſhew in the courſe of this hiſtory) that an inſtitution, which was in its origin intended as an expiation for crimes, has been made uſe of to encourage the commiſſion of them.

The conſpirators, being provided with their pardons for the next world, lay in wait for the king as he was returning from one of his country-ſeats alone, without any guards, and in the night-time, when they fired upon his coach, and wounded him deſperately.

All the accomplices in this horrid affair were taken, except one domeſtic. Part of them were broke alive upon the wheel, and the others beheaded. The young counteſs of Atalda, whoſe huſband had been executed among the reſt, was, by the king's order, confined to a monaſtery for life; there to lament, in a ſorrowful retirement, the fatal ills, of which ſhe was ſuppoſed to have been the cauſe.

Portugal not having as yet received the ſame lights as moſt of the other European nations, paid a more implicit ſubmiſſion to the authority of the ſee of Rome, than of them; inſomuch that the king could not give his judges authority to paſs ſentence of death upon a prieſt, who attempted the life of his ſovereign, without firſt ſending to the pope for his conſent. Thus, while other nations lived in the enlightened times of the 18th century, Portugal ſeemed to be buried in all the darkneſs of the 12th.

Poſterity will hardly believe that the king of Portugal was two whole years ſoliciting the permiſſion of the ſee of Rome to try jeſuits who were his own ſubjects, without being able to obtain it at laſt.

The courts of Liſbon and of Rome were at open variance for a conſiderable time; inſomuch that there was room to believe that Portugal would at length throw off that yoke, which the Engliſh, its protectors and allies, had long ſince trampled under their feet; but the Portugueſe miniſtry had too many enemies to venture upon an undertaking that the others had accompliſhed; and therefore gave at one and the ſame time a proof of the greateſt reſolution and moſt extreme condeſcenſion.

Such

Such of the jeſuits who were deemed moſt culpable, were in priſon at Liſbon, where the king ſuffered them to remain, and ſent all the reſt of that order to Rome, baniſhing them the kingdom for ever, but did not dare to put to death the three who had been accuſed and convicted of having a hand in the plot againſt his life.

He had therefore no other expedient but that of delivering one of them, *Malagrida*, over to the inquiſition, as a perſon ſuſpected of having formerly advanced certain raſh propoſitions, bordering upon hereſy.

The Dominicans, who are the judges of the holy office, and aſſiſtants to the grand inquiſitor, never loved the jeſuits; and therefore they were more ready to ſerve the king than the court of Rome had been. On this occaſion, they brought to light a little book, entitled, *The Heroic Life of St. Anne, the Mother of Mary, dictated to the reverend father Malagrida, by St. Anne herſelf*; in which that ſaint tells him, that ſhe was born without ſin, as well as her daughter; that ſhe had wept and ſpoke in her mother's womb, and that ſhe had made the cherubims weep. All the writings of Malagrida were equally ſenſible; he had made predictions, and performed miracles, and that of being troubled with nocturnal pollutions in his priſon at the age of 75, was none of the leaſt.

All theſe things were brought in charge againſt him at his trial, and he was condemned to the flames for theſe only, without being aſked a ſingle queſtion concerning the attempt againſt the king's life, becauſe this is only a crime committed againſt a layman; whereas, the others were crimes againſt God. Thus folly and abſurdity were joined to the moſt horrible wickedneſs. An aſſaſſin was tried only for being a prophet, and was condemned to be burnt only as a madman, and not as an aſſaſſin.

This affair of the jeſuits in Portugal, and their expulſion from that kingdom, revived the old hatred againſt them in France, where they have always been powerful, and always deteſted. It happened that one La Valette, a profeſſed monk of their order, who was chief

of the miſſions at Guadalupe, and one of the greateſt traders in all the French iſlands, broke for above three millions. The creditors applied for redreſs to the Parliament of Paris. On enquiry, there appeared ſome reaſons to believe, that the general of the jeſuits order, reſiding at Rome, managed the effects of the ſociety as he pleaſed; upon which, the parliament of Paris condemned the general and the reſt of the order to pay all the debts of La Valette, with coſts and charges.

This trial, which incenſed the whole kingdom againſt the jeſuits, brought on an enquiry into the very extraordinary inſtitution, which could render an Italian, the general of an order, abſolute maſter of the perſons and fortunes of a company of French traders. In the courſe of this ſcrutiny it appeared, to the ſurprize of every one, that the jeſuits order had never been formally admitted into France by any of the parliaments of the kingdom; the conſtitutions of the order were next ſubjected to examination, and all the parliaments agreed, that they were incompatible with the laws in being. All the old grievances and former complaints againſt this ſociety were revived on this occaſion, together with upwards of fifty volumes of theological deciſions, which ſeemed to render the lives of crowned heads unſafe.

Againſt all theſe accuſations the jeſuits made no other defence, than that the Jacobines and St. Thomas had wrote in the ſame manner; but this only proved the Jacobines to be as blameable as themſelves: as to St. Thomas d'Aquinas, he has been made a ſaint of; but there are ſome deciſions in his *ultramontane Summary*, for which the parliaments of France would order his book to be burnt on his very feſtival, was any one to attempt to put them in practice, to the diſturbance of the government's tranquillity. Such is the following aſſertion, which occurs in many places of his book, that the church has a right to depoſe a prince, who is unfaithful to the church; and that in this caſe, regicide is lawful. With ſuch maxims as theſe, a man may have the chance of obtaining heaven and a halter.

The king condeſcended to intereſt himſelf in this affair of the jeſuits, and endeavoured, as he had done in all

all the other diſputes, to terminate them peaceably. With this paternal view he would, by an edict, have made a reformation in the order; but it is ſaid that Pope Clement XIII. having declared, that the order muſt either remain as it was, or not exiſt at all, this ſpeech proved the ruin of the jeſuits. And being moreover accuſed of holding private meetings, the king gave them over to the parliaments of the kingdom, who, almoſt all, one after another, have taken from them their colleges and their effects.

The parliaments condemned them wholly on account of certain rules of their inſtitution, which the king might have altered by his authority, and alſo indeed for certain horrible maxims, but what were deſpiſed, and had moſt of them been publiſhed by jeſuits of other countries, but formerly diſavowed by thoſe of France.

In all great affairs there is ever a pretext ſet forth to the view of the world, and a real cauſe, which is kept ſecret. The pretext for puniſhing the jeſuits was the dangerous tendency of thoſe wicked writings, which nobody read: the cauſe was the ill uſe they had made of their great influence and credit. It happened to them in an enlightened and refined age, as it had done to the Knights Templars in times of barbariſm and ignorance: pride was the ruin of both. The jeſuits, however, have met with lenity amidſt their diſgraces; whereas the Templars were treated with the greateſt cruelty.

It was neither the maxims of Sanchez, Leſſius, nor Eſcober, nor yet the abſurd doctrines of the caſuiſts, that proved the deſtruction of the jeſuits; it was father Le Tellier and the bull that cauſed the almoſt total expulſion of this order in France.

The deſtruction of Port-Royal, which Le Tellier ſo unweariedly laboured after, has at the end of threeſcore years produced the ſame effects; and the perſecution, which that deſigning and revengful prieſt raiſed againſt a ſet of obſtinate men, has rendered the jeſuits execrable in France: a memorable example! but which, nevertheleſs, will not be found ſufficient to warn any future confeſſor of a crowned head, if he is, what almoſt every

courtier is, of an arbitrary and intriguing diſpoſition, and has the direction of a prince of weak intellects, rendered ſtill more feeble by age.

Of a remarkable Circumſtance, relating to LITERATURE.

THE principal end of this *Eſſay on Hiſtory* being to follow the human mind in the various progreſſes it has made, and the obſtacles it has had to encounter; I cannot, after having taken notice of the diſgrace of the jeſuits, omit a kind of perſecution which the learned have of late undergone. The body of *Literati* begins to challenge much more attention than any of the religious orders, whoſe diſputes we have related, as its members are ſpread throughout all nations. Thoſe, who are diſtinguiſhed by their ſuperior knowledge and underſtanding, inſenſibly govern others almoſt without perceiving it themſelves, or exerciſing the prerogative of that empire they have acquired over the mind; prerogatives which are held ſo dear by all bodies in the ſtate. This ſecret authority, which good writers obtain, has always been an eye-ſore to thoſe who have in vain attempted to uſurp it.

A ſet of men, of great genius and true erudition, which cannot ſubſiſt without true philoſophy, undertook, in the year 1652, to compile an immenſe dictionary of human knowledge, whoſe limits ſome amongſt them had contributed greatly to enlarge. This undertaking met with the approbation and encouragement of all Europe, and the work itſelf became an important article of trade.

Several volumes had already appeared, which had given great ſatisfaction to the public; eſpecially, thoſe articles which were written by perſons who had the chief management of the work. The book was publiſhed with all the neceſſary forms that could enſure its ſale. The ſubſcribers of all countries, who had advanced

advanced their money, thought it perfectly ſafe under the authority of the king's own ſeal, and expected to reap the profits of their ſubſcription without any difficulty; for though the authors of this work intended it as a *free gift* to the human underſtanding, it was conſidered by the ſubſcribers and bookſellers as a kind of bargain in trade, which ought to have been duly fulfilled.

Envy, however, at length broke looſe, and was quickly ſeconded by fanaticiſm. Theſe two eternal foes to reaſon and learning, moved the parliament of Paris againſt this Dictionary, which, in itſelf, was by no means an object of judicial enquiry; and beſides, by being licenſed under the royal ſignet, ſeemed to be ſecured againſt any attempts.

The jeſuits were the firſt who began the attack, in which they ſpared no pains to vilify this noble work, becauſe they had applied for their body to have the doing of the theological articles, and had been refuſed. They little thought, at that time, that they themſelves would, ere long, be condemned by the very courts whom they endeavoured to incenſe againſt the *Encyclopedia*.

The Janſeniſts effected what the jeſuits had begun; they found that thoſe who had dedicated their labours to this work, made impartiality their fundamental law; and conſequently, could be neither friends to jeſuiſts nor janſeniſts, and that having devoted themſelves wholly to inveſtigate and repreſent truth, they would raiſe an averſion in mankind to fanaticiſm.

Theſe two parties, who were the moſt deadly enemies to each other, joined together on this occaſion like banditti (if I may be allowed the compariſon) who ſuſpended their private quarrels, to ſhare in a general plunder. They put on the uſual maſk of religion, and repreſented ſeveral of the articles as impious and heretical; and, by a refinement in wickedneſs, not unexampled, even in the greateſt rage of religious controverſies; finding that they could not attack, with any

any ſucceſs, thoſe articles in the *Encyclopedia* which moſt diſguſted them, they pretended that the referring of one head, or article, to a future one, was done with a deſign to fill the laſt volumes of this work with a poiſon which was not to be found in the firſt; they, likewiſe, inveighed againſt other theological articles, which were found to be perfectly orthodox, merely from a ſuppoſition that they were written by thoſe perſons whom they wanted to deſtroy.

But how could the parliament find time to try ſeven large volumes in folio already printed, and prejudge thoſe that were not yet publiſhed? The proſecutors put their memorial into the hands of the attorney-general, who had ſtill leſs leiſure to examine this prodigious collection of arts and ſciences, which no one ſingle perſon can poſſibly comprehend.

Unhappily this lawyer gave credit to the malicious calumnies contained in the memorial he had received, and drew up his report accordingly. The article of the *ſoul* was particularly attacked in theſe memorials, as it was ſuppoſed to have been written by thoſe whom they were deſirous to render ſuſpected. This article was repreſented as tending to eſtabliſh the doctrine of Materialiſm; upon enquiry, it was found to be a doctor of the Sorbonne, who was well known for his orthodox principles; and who, inſtead of being a favourer of Materialiſm, had oppoſed it even ſo far, as to contradict the opinion of the great Locke, with more piety than philoſophy. This very extraordinary blunder was ſoon made known to the public, but not till after the parliament had paſſed an arret, appointing commiſſioners to make amendments in the work, and prohibiting the ſale thereof in the mean time. However, the public ſtill remained in hopes that it would at length be indulged with this work, which it wiſhed for the more impatiently on account of the oppoſition it had met with.

This

This very ſingular anecdote in the hiſtory of the human mind, which ſeemed a revival of the arrets that had been iſſued againſt Ariſtotle's Cathegories, may ſerve to ſhew us that every profeſſion ſhould keep withing its own proper bounds, and that the civil law ought not to moleſt philoſophy.

It would, however, have been very happy for the government, had it experienced no other diſputes but of this kind, which are only inconveniencies and not diſaſters: nay, theſe ſlight perplexities, which have their ſource in the improvement of learning, and can never happen among an illiterate people, form a kind of panegyric on the age, which, however, it would be better that we could do without.

CONCLUSION, and Review of this Hiſtorical Portrait.

I.

WHILE France was taken up with theſe domeſtic events, the war continued in Europe. The alliance betwen France and Spain ſeemed to promiſe thoſe two crowns the greateſt advantages over the Engliſh; and the houſe of Auſtria, whoſe hands this alliance had alſo ſtrengthened, was not without hopes of triumphing over its enemy the king of Pruſſia. Formerly it was thought impoſſible, that the houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria could ever be united; and now that they were, it was imagined that they would be an over-match for all Europe, and yet the three petty German provinces of Brandenburg, Hanover, and Heſſe, did, to the aſtoniſhment of Europe, counterbalance all the united forces of France and Auſtria.

England, by her navy alone, rendered this union of no effect; and Portugal, which ſeemed on the point of falling a prey to the Spaniſh arms, was ſaved from deſtruction. Thus, what was thought the leaſt probable came to paſs; of which we have had an hundred inſtances in the courſe of this extenſive hiſtory, where we

we have ſeen the greateſt events turn out directly contrary to the deſigns or expectations of mankind.

At one time we ſee an army of 100,000 French not able to preſerve Caſſel from falling into the hands of the enemy; at another, the king of Pruſſia taking Schweidnitz in Sileſia, in ſpite of the whole Auſtrian army; and no ſooner had Spain declared war againſt England, than the latter took from her the large iſland of Cuba, with a treaſure amounting to more than an hundred thouſand millions, at that time in the Havannah.

France, now in a manner exhauſted, and who had already made propoſals of peace to the Britiſh court, was obliged once more to renew thoſe propoſals; and Spain was conſtrained to follow her example, and ſit down contented with its loſſes. This war had begun about ſome conteſted lands which the Engliſh laid claim to in America, and they now remained maſters of all the immenſe country of Canada, and that part of the continent which is on the left-ſide of the Miſſiſſippi.

To theſe vaſt poſſeſſions they have likewiſe added Florida; ſo that at length the Engliſh and the Spaniards have got the whole continent of America between them.

This is the moſt remarkable event of this war, which is the one thouſandth that the princes of Chriſtendom have made upon each other ſince the diſmembering of the Roman empire.

Let thoſe hiſtorians, whoſe countries have been at war, tranſmit to poſterity a detail of the evils ſuffered, with all the ravages, loſſes, miſtaken meaſures, and inadequate reſources on each ſide.

As I only conſider the manners, and ſpirit of nations, in this general confuſion, I ſhall remark, that in the midſt of the cruelties inſeparable from the hoſtile exerciſe of arms, we have had ſeveral inſtances in which a ſpirit of humanity and politeneſs has ſmoothed the rigours of war. The French, who were made priſoners by

by the king of Pruſſia, experienced the mildeſt treatment from that monarch and prince Henry his brother; and the two princes of Brunſwick have diſtinguiſhed themſelves as much by their generoſity as their victories. The princes, generals, and other officers among the French, have given ſhining proofs of that true nobility which forms their character.

The Engliſh made a collection for the ſupport of the ſeamen they had taken priſoners; and this generous act proceeded from no other principle than that of an humane philoſophy, which began to gain ground in moſt nations, and which will in all probability at length put a ſtop to religious wars at leaſt, if it cannot prevent thoſe that are the effects of an unhappy ſtate-policy.

It is to this humane ſpirit that we owe the increaſe of academies in ſeveral kingdoms and republics, that have enlarged the human underſtanding, by increaſing its knowledge; and this ſame ſpirit, which eaſily communicates itſelf, has induced many learned men to apply themſelves to agriculture, in order to render the earth fruitful; while others, of an ambitious turn, were bathing it in blood. In a word, there is the greateſt room to hope, that reaſon and induſtry will continually make new advances; that the uſeful arts will multiply; that falſe prejudices, which are in the number of the greateſt evils that attend mankind, will every day diminiſh among the princes and great men of the earth; and that ſound philoſophy, being univerſally diffuſed, will prove a ready conſolation againſt the calamities incident in all times to human nature.

In this view, and with theſe hopes, this *Eſſay on General Hiſtory* is offered to the public. Humanity dictated it, and Truth held the pen. There are ſome perſons who are to be looked upon only as the enemies of ſociety, that have accuſed the painter of this complicated piece with having thrown too deep a ſhade upon the crimes of mankind, particularly thoſe of religion, and thereby rendered enthuſiaſm hateful, and ſuperſtition ridiculous.

The

The only reproach the author has to make himſelf on this head is, that he has not ſaid enough; and the very charge of theſe enthuſiaſtic bigots ſhews the neceſſity there was for ſuch an hiſtory, ſince it proves that there are ſtill ſome unhappy wretches troubled with this malady of the ſoul, who are afraid of being cured.

There will always be ſome unciviliſed minds, even in the moſt poliſhed nations and enlightened times. One of theſe has lately made his appearance in a conſiderable work (publiſhed by authority too) in which he defends the ſtory of the nuns of Loudun, who were poſſeſſed of an evil ſpirit: and another madman like himſelf has pretended to prove, in another book, that the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew was not a deſigned fact, palliates all the horrors exerciſed on that day, commends the cruelties practiſed towards the Albigenſes, and applauds the ſentence paſſed upon John Hus, and Jerome of Prague, as juſt; but this exceſs of folly may ſerve as a proof of what has been advanced in former parts of this hiſtory, namely, that reaſon and ſound judgment have been greatly improved of late years among the thinking part of mankind, ſince theſe writers, who, a century ago, would have been eſteemed as perſons of exemplary zeal and piety, are now looked upon with contempt and deteſtation.

II.

It is impoſſible, in ſo extenſive an hiſtory, but that ſome errors muſt have crept in, and that the author has been ſometimes miſtaken in dates, or may have altered names, or even circumſtances; but he ventures to aſſert, that all the principal facts are true. He has dwelt chiefly upon great events; and when he takes notice of leſſer ones, it is becauſe they marked the characters he was about to draw.

There are ſeveral points in hiſtory that have been conteſted, eſpecially in the middle age: in this caſe he thought he could not do better than to adopt that ſide which appeared moſt agreeable to reaſon.

For

For inſtance: Eginhard, the ſecretary of Charlemagne, tells us, that Pepin made a donation of the exarchate to St Peter *; but we find Charlemagne, by his will, bequeathing preſents to *his* cities of *Rome* and *Ravenna*: then if Rome and Ravenna were really *his* cities, they could not be under the dominion of the pope. Therefore, by the words *made a donation to St. Peter*, we are to underſtand only a religious ceremony, or pious oblation, which could not confer any right, ſince Pepin had none himſelf upon the exarchate: for ſhould any one pretend to ſay, This is mine, and I hold it from ſuch a perſon, to whom it did not belong? certainly ſuch a plea would not hold good either before God or man. After all, this is a very idle diſpute; for it is not upon this donation, the original title of which never appeared, that the popes found their claim to the ſovereignty of Rome and Ravenna, but on the conceſſion of Rodolph of Hapſburg, which is preſerved and ſhewn at Rome, and which is by far the moſt advantageous title.

A writer, equally ignorant and evil-minded, pretends to aſſert, that the kings Clotharius, Gontran, Cherebert, Sigibert, and Chilperic, had never any more than one wife at a time. Is it poſſible he could be ignorant that Clotharius I. married two ſiſters, Rugonda and Aregonda, as alſo Gonduica his ſiſter-in-law, and three other wives beſides her; and that he had almoſt always three at once, which was not at that time a cuſtom with the kings of France? Is there any one ever ſo little converſant in hiſtory, who, does not know that when his ſon Chilperic married a ſiſter of queen Brunehaut, that his ambaſſadors were obliged to ſwear, in their maſter's name, that he would not marry any more during his wife's lifetime, which ſufficiently ſhews that Chilperic had not then laid aſide the practice of polygamy. Caribert gave three wicked rivals to this queen Ingoberga, and they all three have the name of wives. Gontran had two at once, Marcatrude

* See Vol. I. chap. v.

Marcatrude and Auſtregele: it ſhould ſeem that he repented of his ſin, for he has been ranked in the number of ſaints. There is not a French annaliſt who does not allow, that Dagobert I. married in the ſame year three wives, Nantilda, Uſfgonda, and Bertilda. This fact is much better atteſted than the throne of maſſy gold, which St. Eloy is ſaid to have made for them.

III.

Many things might he added to this *Eſſay on General Hiſtory*; but it was neceſſary to keep within bounds. The judicious and learned reader will make many in his own mind that are not to be met with even here. I ſhall therefore confine myſelf. with ſubmitting the following conjecture on the antient Egyptians, which may ſerve for the hiſtory of other antient nations.

Vol. IV. ch. 131. p. 39. *After the words*, Egypt remained under this government for almoſt three hundred years,

Add what follows:

Here we have opened to us a vaſt field for hiſtorical conjecture. We ſee Egypt a long time kept in ſubjection by the people of antient Colchis, inhabitants of thoſe barbarous countries, now known by the name of Georgia, Circaſſia, and Mingrelia. Theſe people muſt undoubtedly have been much more reſpectable formerly than they are at preſent, ſince we find the firſt voyage of the Greeks to Colchis forms one of the ſmall epochs of the Grecian hiſtory. It is certain that the cuſtoms and manners of the people of Colchis, reſemble greatly thoſe of the Egyptians, from whoſe prieſts they had taken even the practice of circumciſion. Herodotus, who had travelled into Egypt and Colchis, and who wrote for Greeks of learning and knowledge, leaves us no room to doubt of this conformity. Tho' an exact and faithful writer, he is nevertheleſs charged with having been impoſed upon, in all that he relates after others. The

Egyptian

Egyptian prieſts had perſuaded him, that their king Seſoſtris formerly left his dominions with a deſign to make the conqueſt of the world, and that having taken Colchis in the courſe of his conqueſts, the practice of circumciſion had been retained in that country ever ſince.

In the firſt place, the deſign of making the conqueſt of the whole world is a romantic notion, that could never have entered into the head of a man in his right ſenſes. To make war firſt upon their neighbours, either to extend their own dominions or for the ſake of plunder; after this, to puſh their conqueſts further and further as opportunity or a faint reſiſtance made the way eaſy to them, has always been the progreſs of all conquerors.

Secondly, it is not probable that a ſovereign of ſo fertile a country as Egypt ſhould waſte his time and pains in conquering the dreary lands of mount Caucaſus, inhabited by a race of hardy men as warlike as they were poor; an hundred of whom were more than ſufficient to have checked the progreſs of the greateſt armies of the ſoft and effeminate Egyptians.

It is nearly the ſame as if we were to ſuppoſe a king of Babylon to have left Meſopotamia, in order to make the conqueſt of Swiſſerland.

A neceſſitous people, bred up in wild and barren countries, where they lived wholly by hunting, and are as ſavage as the beaſts of their unhoſpitable regions, may quit thoſe regions to go in ſearch of, and attack more wealthy nations, but theſe latter never leave their agreeable and convenient dwellings, to make irruptions into uncultivated countries.

The barbarous inhabitants of the north have in all ages made irruptions into the ſouthern countries. You have ſeen that the people of Colchis held Egypt under ſubjection for near three hundred years, to begin at the reign of St. Lewis. You ſee alſo, that in every age, Egypt has fallen an eaſy prey, to whomſoever choſe to make the conqueſt of it. It is therefore

fore extremely probable, that the barbarous nations of mount Caucaſus might have ſubjected the countries bordering on the Nile, but very little ſo, that Seſoſtris ever conquered thoſe about Caucaſus. In the third and laſt place, how comes it that, of all the nations whom the Egyptian prieſts pretended to have been conquered by their king Seſoſtris, the Colcheans alone retain the practice of circumciſion? It muſt have paſſed thro' Greece and Aſia Minor to have come to the country of Media. The Greeks, who were great imitators, would certainly have adopted this ceremony firſt; and one ſhould imagine that Seſoſtris himſelf would have been more attentive to ſecure his dominion over ſo fine a country as Greece, and have ſubjected it to his laws, than in going to cut off the foreſkins of the Colcheans. Upon the whole, it is much more agreeable to the common order of things, that the Scythians, who inhabited the borders of the Phaſis and Araxis, and were always a half-ſtarved and warlike people, made irruptions into Aſia Minor, Syria, and Egypt; and, after having ſettled about Thebes and Memphis, in theſe early ages, as they did afterwards in the time of St. Lewis, had carried back with them into their own country, ſome part of the religious rites, and the cuſtoms of the Egyptians.

It is now for the intelligent reader to weigh theſe ſeveral arguments, ancient hiſtory furniſhing us only with doubts and conjectures in regard to all the nations under the ſun.

VI.

In modern hiſtory there is more certainty, and the picture of our weakneſſes, our errors and ſuperſtitions, is likewiſe more intereſting. It is by this hiſtory of our own follies, that we are taught wiſdom, and not by the dark diſcuſſions of a vain antiquity. We have obſerved, in the courſe of this eſſay, that in all thoſe countries where exorciſms began to be laid aſide, they

they no longer heard of witchcrafts nor perſons poſſeſſed by the Devil. It is true that they were much ſcarcer there than in other countries, but it would be doing too much honour to human nature to ſuppoſe that the belief of witchcrafts and poſſeſſions ceaſed entirely among the diſſenters from the Romiſh communion.

Such is the weakneſs of the mind of man, and ſuch the inconſiſtency of his thoughts, that a conſiderable time after exorciſms had been aboliſhed among the reformed, they ſometimes admitted witchcrafts and poſſeſſions by evil ſpirits. There were ſome perſons burnt as ſorcerers in Denmark, Sweden, Pomerania, and Holland: you will find a very authentic account of them all, in the *enchanted world* of Beker, and you will even find more than one proteſtant miniſter who believed, or pretended to believe, in theſe poſſeſſions and witchcrafts, leſt, by entirely rejecting them, they ſhould ſeem alſo to reject a part of chriſtianity, which is founded on this belief: for, ſaid they, if we allow that the devil inſpires us with thoughts, and that theſe thoughts act upon our bodies, why may not the devil have the ſame power over our bodies, as over our minds? This way of reaſoning might be applied to ſuch who were ſaid to be poſſeſſed, but could never be a proof of the power of ſorcerers or magicians. But this is not the place for diſcuſſing theſe queſtions. Suffice it to know, that tho' human reaſon is freed from this prejudice, it retains ſeveral others, and often forms new ones; and that the number of wiſe men is very circumſcribed, even in the moſt enlightened times.

V.

Vol. IV. chap. 135] *After theſe words*, An imprudent zeal, aboliſhed in the courſe of time what prudence had eſtabliſhed,

Add what follows:

One of the moſt horrible abuſes of the monaſtic ſtate, but which falls only upon thoſe who having had the

the imprudence to enter into that ſtate, have the misfortune to repent of it afterwards, is the licence which the ſuperiors of convents aſſume to exerciſe the office of civil magiſtrates, within their own precincts, which they carry to ſuch a length as to ſhut up in a dungeon, for their lives, ſuch of the monks whom they have a diſlike to, and imagine they have reaſon to diſtruſt. There have been numberleſs examples of this eccleſiaſtical tyranny in Italy and Spain; there have been ſome likewiſe in France. This is called, in the monkiſh jargon, being in *pace*; *with the bread of tribulation and the water of anguiſh.*

In the hiſtory of the common law, which was partly compoſed by Mr. D'Argenſon, miniſter for foreign affairs, a man of much more learning and philoſophy than was generally imagined: in this hiſtory, I ſay, you will find that the intendant of Tours ſet a perſon, who had been thus confined, at liberty, whom he with great difficulty found out, after the moſt exact ſearch. You ſee alſo, that Monſieur de Coaler, biſhop of Orleans, delivered one of theſe unhappy monks, who was ſhut up in a ciſtern, the mouth of which was covered with a great ſtone. But what you will not find there, is, that a ſevere puniſhment was inflicted on the ſuperiors, for their inhuman inſolence in aſſuming the royal authority, and exerciſing it in ſo tyrannical a manner.

VI.

Hiſtorical truth has obliged us to ſay, that Opas, the archbiſhop of Seville, was, in concert with count Julian, the firſt inſtrument which the Moors made uſe of to ſubject the kingdom of Spain *. This is ſo well known a fact, that it would have been as ſhameful to have paſſed it over in ſilence, as it is to contradict it. The chronological abridgement of the hiſtory of Spain calls biſhop Opas *the wickedeſt prieſt, and worſt ſubject in the kingdom.*

With

* See Vol. I. chap. 18.

With regard to Mahomet, it is of little ſignification, whether his father was the tenth or twelfth ſon of Abdal Moutaleb, or how long he was factor to the widow Cadiſche, to whom he was afterwards married*. Some think that he could neither write nor read, and that this makes his ſucceſſes the more wonderful. They found this opinion on certain paſſages of the Alcoran, wherein Mahomet calls himſelf the *ignorant prophet*, and inſinuates that he cannot write. The ſenſe of which paſſage ſeems to be no more than this, that in himſelf he was ignorant and incapable of reading or writing well, but that the angel Gabriel had exalted him above himſelf; for it is hardly probable that he, who had been a merchant, and afterwards became a law-giver, he, who was a poet and muſician, and who, on his death-bed, deſired that the proper things might be brought him to write, ſhould have been ignorant of what was known to every child in Mecca.

As to what relates to Chriſtianity, it is a point of a more delicate nature. The author has never ſet up to act the divine, he has confined himſelf to hiſtorical truth, and he has delivered facts as he found them, leaving the learned and ſenſible reader to draw his own inferences. If Calvin abſolutely ſuffered Servetus to periſh at the ſtake†, after having declared in his writings, that no man ought to be puniſhed for following the opinion of Servetus; the author was obliged to relate this fact, without fear of diſpleaſing a fanatic, or an impoſtor. He was under the ſame neceſſity to ſet to view the ambition, cruelty, and abandoned lives of ſeveral of the pontiffs. They were men, and he wrote the hiſtory of mankind; beſides, their vices ſerve as foils to ſet off the virtues of thoſe of the preſent age.

VII.

* Vol. I. chap. 4. † Vol. IV. chap. 113.

VII.

In examining this hiſtory, we find ſome letters attributed to queen Chriſtina. She wrote one to cardinal Mazarine, on the ſubject of Monaldeſchi's murder, in which ſhe thus expreſſes herſelf.

"Be it known to ye all, ſervants and maſters, "that it has pleaſed us to act in this manner. I "would have you to know likewiſe, that Chriſ- "tiana cares very little for your court, and ſtill "leſs for you. My will is a law that is to be "reſpected. Silence is your duty. Know that where- "ſoever Chriſtina is, ſhe is Queen." This letter has no date. If Chriſtina really wrote it, ſhe can be looked upon only as a murdereſs gone mad. This princeſs had a great ſhare of underſtanding, and acquired no ſmall glory by the contempt ſhe ſhewed for a throne; but then ſhe ſullied all that glory by her conduct. If this letter is fictitious, it can be only the work of one of thoſe grovelling ſlaves, who imagined that a Swediſh woman, becauſe ſhe had reigned at Stockholm, had a right to cauſe an Italian opera to be murdered at Fontainebleau. On this occaſion ſilence was ſo far from being the duty of cardinal Mazarine, that, as prime miniſter, he ought to have made Chriſtina feel the whole weight of the royal indignation. It was the duty of the attorney-general to prefer an information againſt theſe ruffians who had been hired to murder a foreigner in the royal palace; and, indeed, they ought to have obliged queen Chriſtina to be preſent at the execution of the aſſaſſins whom ſhe had kept in pay, and afterwards to have quitted the kingdom herſelf: nay, there are many perſons of ſtrict juſtice who would have gone to more rigorous lengths.

VIII.

The author of this Essay cannot have been influenced either by regard, hatred, or intereſt; and it is

is by no means from an inclination to flatter any one, that he has, in the age of Lewis XIV taken ſome pains to refute the miſtaken notion which had been broached in public, that the clergy of France were in poſſeſſion of the third part of the revenues of the nation. What had a layman and a recluſe to hope from the favour of the clergy? He only meant to do honour to the truth he loves. The clergy have not eighty millions income, and that body has done its duty by aſſiſting the neceſſities of the ſtate, in proportion to its income. The French biſhops have acquired the public eſteem by their conduct, and by thoſe extenſive charities, which cannot fail to make them dear to their flock in particular. In general, the body of the clergy, both dignified and others, in England and France, have done as much good, as religious diſputes formerly did harm, in thoſe two kingdoms.

Several wiſe and moderate perſons ſeem to wiſh that a general toleration might take place in France, as well as in England. An indulgence of this kind, ſay they, at once peoples and enriches a country; and a wiſe adminiſtration may always prevent the evil effects ariſing from a mixture of different faiths, eſpecially as the ſuperior underſtandings of the principal citizens would be a check upon the extravagance or abſurdity of the lower claſs.

IX.

In treating of Janſeniſm and Moliniſm, I have exhibited them in that ridiculous light which is the characteriſtic of their diſputes, and have endeavoured to ſhew that, what is in itſelf contemptible, frequently becomes dangerous, from not being ſufficiently deſpiſed. In proportion as the underſtandings of mankind are impreſſed with a proper notion of the bad tendency and abſurdity of theſe diſputes, the public peace will be ſecured from any attempts to injure it.

We have ſhewn France happy and unhappy; ſucceſsful and unfortunate; her military diſcipline encouraged and neglected; her revenues copious and exhauſted; her navy reſpectable and ruined; and her trade flouriſhing and languid. Theſe are viciſſitudes inſeparable from human affairs: but we have not preſumed to lay down rules for military diſcipline, or the better management of the revenue, the marine or commerce. We write hiſtory, and not ſyſtems.

There are certain anecdotes in the age of Lewis XIV. of which the author was certain, and which have been in vain conteſted. That of the man of the ſteel maſk, which gave birth to ſo many ſtrange conjectures, is not more extraordinary than true. The author has, very lately, been favoured with a letter from the lord of Palteau, a chateau near Villeneuve le Roi, wherein it is confirmed that this priſoner lodged in this chateau; that ſeveral perſons ſaw him come out of his litter; that he wore a black maſk; and that he is ſtill very well remembered in the neighbourhood. There was no neceſſity for this freſh proof; but nothing ought to be omitted that tends to aſcertain the truth of a fact ſo much out of the common road.

Another ſingular circumſtance which relates to philoſophy, and which is, perhaps, more remarkable in the hiſtory of the human mind, is the manner in which two learned prelates, Fenelon and Huet *, thought in their laſt moments. The treatiſe on *the Weakneſs of the Human Mind*, by which the biſhop of Avranches finiſhed his career, leaves no room to doubt what were his laſt ſentiments. Theſe verſes of the archbiſhop of Cambray,

Jeune j'étois trop ſage,
Et voulois trop ſavoir, &c. †

have

* The firſt archbiſhop of Cambray, the other biſhop of Avranches.

† Vol. VII. chap. 209, at the end.

have been denied to be his: but it is ſo certain they were written by him, that his nephew, while ambaſſador at the Hague, cauſed them to be printed at the end of a folio edition of Telemachus, together with ſome other of his fugitive pieces. The copies which have theſe verſes in them are very ſcarce, but they are to be met with in ſome libraries.

To conclude: in writing the hiſtory of *the Age of Lewis* XIV. the author was forty years ſeeking the truth, and he has delivered it.

HISTORICAL

TRACTS.

HISTORICAL TRACTS.

Of the JEWS.

YOU desire me to give you a faithful picture of the ſpirit and hiſtory of the Jews; and, without entering into the ineffable ways of Providence, you want to diſcover, in the manners of that people, the true origin of thoſe events, which Providence hath brought about.

Certain it is, of all the nations in the world, that of the Jews is the moſt remarkable. However contemptible they may be in the eyes of a politician, they are nevertheleſs well worthy of the ſerious attention of a philoſopher.

The Guebres, the Banians, and the Jews, are the only people that preſerve a being, notwithſtanding their diſperſion; and, without making an alliance with any other nation, perpetuate their race among ſtrangers, from whom they keep themſelves intirely diſtinct.

In former times the Guebres were infinitely more numerous than the Jews, as being the remains of the ancient Perſians, who held the Jews in ſubjection: at preſent, however, they are only to be found in one corner of the Eaſt.

The Banians, ſprung from thoſe ancient people from whom Pythagoras derived his philoſophy, are only to be met with in Perſia and the Indies: but the Jews are ſcattered through the whole earth; and, were

they now to be collected into one body, would compoſe a nation far more numerous than they were during the ſhort period that they were maſters of Paleſtine. Thoſe people who have committed to writing the hiſtory of their origin, have, almoſt all of them, endeavoured to heighten it with prodigies: with them, every thing is miraculous: their oracles foretel nothing but conqueſts; and ſuch of them as have really become conquerors, have made no difficulty to believe the truth of ancient oracles, ſo amply juſtified by the event. But what diſtinguiſhes the Jews from all other nations is, that their oracles alone are true: of this we are not permitted to entertain the leaſt doubt. Theſe oracles, which they underſtand in the literal ſenſe, have foretold, a hundred times, that they ſhould one day become maſters of the world; notwithſtanding which, they were never in poſſeſſion of more that one paltry ſpot for a few years; nor have they, at preſent, a ſingle village they can call their own. They are therefore bound to believe, and in fact they do believe, that theſe predictions will be one day accompliſhed, and that they ſhall obtain the empire of the univerſe.

Among the Muſſulmans and Chriſtians they are conſidered as people of the meaneſt and moſt deſpicable character, and yet they believe themſelves to be of the greateſt importance. This pride, in the midſt of their abaſement, is juſtified by an unanſwerable argument; to wit, that they are really the fathers of both the Chriſtians and the Muſſulmans. The Chriſtian and Mahometan religion acknowledge that of the Jews for their mother; whom, nevertheleſs, by a ſtrange kind of contradiction, they at once reſpect and abhor.

It is not our intention here to recount that long train of prodigies, which aſtoniſh the imagination, and exerciſe our faith. We only mean to examine thoſe events which are purely hiſtorical, ſtript of the divine agency, and of thoſe miracles which God condeſcended, for ſo long a time, to work in favour of this people.

At

At firſt, we behold in Egypt a ſingle family of ſeventy perſons. This in the ſpace of two hundred and fifteen years, produced a nation capable of furniſhing ſix hundred thouſand fighting men, which, together with the old men, women, and children, may be ſuppoſed to amount to two millions of ſouls: a prodigious increaſe! to which the hiſtory of mankind cannot furniſh a parallel inſtance. This multitude, having left Egypt, continued in the deſerts of Arabia Petræa for forty years, during which their numbers were conſiderably diminiſhed in that cold and barren country.

The remaining part of the nation advanced a little to the northward of theſe deſerts.

It appears, that their principles were the ſame with thoſe which were afterwards adopted by the natives of Arabia Petræa and Deſerta; for they put to death, in cold blood, the inhabitants of the ſmall towns which they took, and reſerved only the young women. The intereſt of population hath always been the chief aim of both the one and the other. We find that when the Arabs conquered Spain, they impoſed a tax of marriageable virgins upon all the provinces; and, even at this day, the Arabs of the Deſert never make a treaty without ſtipulating for ſome preſents and young women.

The Jews arrived in a ſandy and mountainous country, in which there were ſome villages, inhabited by a ſmall nation called the Medianites *; from whom they took, in the courſe of one campaign, ſix hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand ſheep, ſeventy-two thouſand oxen, ſixty-one thouſand aſſes, and thirty two thouſand maids. All the men, all the married women, and all the male children, were put

* They derived their name from Median, ſaid to be the ſon of Abraham and Ketura; and inhabited the country of Arabia Petræa. But that the whole nation was thus extirpated ſeems a little improbable, inaſmuch as we find the Iſraelites enſlaved by the Medianites in the ſequel; a ſtate of ſlavery from which they were delivered by Gideon.

to the ſword. The young women and the booty were divided among the people and the prieſts.

They afterwards made themſelves maſters of the town of Jericho *, in the ſame country; but, having previouſly devoted the inhabitants to deſtruction, they put them all to the ſword, not even ſparing the young women; and granted life to none but to a harlot named Rahab, who had aſſiſted them in ſurpriſing the town.

It hath long been matter of diſpute among the learned, whether the Jews offered human ſacrifices to the Deity, like other nations; but this is merely a controverſy about words. Thoſe, it is true, whom they devoted to deſtruction, were not butchered upon the altar with all the parade of religious rites; but they were nevertheleſs ſacrificed, without its being lawful to ſpare ſo much as a ſingle perſon. In the the twenty-ninth chapter of Leviticus, and twenty-ſeventh verſe, the Moſaic law expreſsly forbids them to ranſom thoſe whom they had devoted to deſtruction: the words are, "Let them die the death." It was in conſequence of this law that Jephtha vowed, and butchered his daughter; that Saul endeavoured to kill his ſon; and that Samuel the prophet hewed king Agag, Saul's priſoner, in pieces. Certain it is, God is the abſolute maſter of the lives of his creatures; nor does it belong to us to examine his laws. It is our duty to believe theſe facts, and ſilently to reverence the deſigns of the Deity in permitting them.

It is likewiſe aſked, what right could ſtrangers, ſuch as the Jews were, have to the land of Canaan? To which they anſwer, that they had that right which God gave them.

Hardly had they taken Jericho and Laiſh, when a civil war broke out among them, in which the tribe of

* Joſephus tells us, that the plain of Jericho was planted with the tree which produces the real balm of Gilead, whence the city took the name of Jericho, which ſignifies ſweet odour. But none of thoſe trees are now to be ſeen on this ſpot.

of Benjamin, men, women, and children, was almoſt intirely extirpated. Of the whole, there remained ſix hundred males; and, in order to prevent the total ruin of one of their tribes, they thought proper to deſtroy a whole tribe of Manaſſeh with fire and ſword, killing all the men, children, married women, and widows and taking thence ſix hundred virgins, whom they gave to the ſix hundred ſurviving Benjaminites to repair their tribes, that ſo the number of their twelve tribes might be always complete.

Mean while the Phœnicians, a powerful people eſtabliſhed in theſe quarters from time immemorial, being alarmed at the depredations and cruelties of theſe new comers, chaſtiſed them frequently; and the neighbouring princes uniting againſt them, they were reduced to a ſtate of ſervitude for upwards of two hundred years.

At laſt they made a king, and choſe him by lot. This king could not poſſibly be powerful; for in the firſt battle which the Jews under his command fought with the Philiſtines, their maſters, they had neither ſword nor ſpear, nor a ſingle weapon of iron. But David, their ſecond king, makes war with more advantage and ſucceſs. He takes the town of Salem*; is famous afterwards under the name of Jeruſalem; and then the Jews begin to make ſome figure in the confines of Syria.

From this time their religion and government aſſume a more auguſt form. Hitherto they had had no temples; a convenience poſſeſſed by all the nations around them. Solomon built a very ſuperb one, and reigned over this people for about forty years.

The

* It is ſuppoſed to have been founded by Melchiſidec; to have been taken by the Jebuſites, who poſſeſſed it till the time of Joſhua, who reduced the city, and cauſed their king Adonizedec, with four princes his allies, to be put to death. After the death of Joſhua they recovered it, and built the citadel of Sion, of which they were diſpoſſeſſed by David.

The reign of Solomon is not only the moſt flouriſhing period of the Jews, but all the kings of the earth together could not produce a treaſure nearly equal to that of Solomon's. His father David, who was not even poſſeſſed of iron, left Solomon twenty-five thouſand ſix hundred and forty-eight millions of French livres in ready money *, according to the preſent computation. His fleets which traded to Ophir, brought him annually ſixty-eight millions in pure gold, not to mention ſilver and precious ſtones. He had forty thouſand ſtables, as many coach houſes, twelve thouſand ſtables for his cavalry, ſeven hundred wives, and three hundred concubines. And yet he had neither wood nor workmen to build his palace and the temple: theſe he borrowed from Hyram, king of Tyre, who likewiſe furniſhed him with gold, in return for which Solomon gave Hyram twenty cities. The commentators acknowledge that theſe facts are dubious, and ſuſpect that ſome error in the calculation muſt have eſcaped the tranſcribers; the only perſons, it ſeems, that could poſſibly be miſtaken.

The twelve tribes, of which the nation conſiſted, were ſeparated upon Solomon's death. The kingdom was torn in pieces, and divided into two petty provinces, the one called Judea, the other Iſrael; the latter containing nine tribes and a half, the former only two and a half. There reigned between theſe two nations a hatred, the more implacable as they were neighbours and relations, and profeſſed a different form of religion: for at Sichem and Samaria they worſhiped Baal, a word of Sidonian extraction; whereas at Jeruſalem, Adonai was the object of their worſhip. At Sichem two calves were conſecrated, and at Jeruſalem two cherubims: the latter of which were two-winged animals, with two heads a-piece, and placed in the ſanctuary. Thus each party, having their own kings, their own God, their own

* The ſum contributed by David and his princes towards the building of the temple, according to the value of the Moſaic talent, and the account given in the book of Chronicles, muſt have exceeded eight hundred millions ſterling.

own worſhip, and their own prophets, were perpetually engaged in a cruel war with one another.

During the courſe of this war, the kings of Aſſyria, who conquered the greateſt part of Aſia, fell upon the Jews, with the rapidity of an eagle darting down upon two fighting lizards. The nine tribes and a half, ſettled at Samaria and Sichem, were carried off, and diſperſed beyond all poſſibility of return, and without its ever being diſtinctly known whither they were led into captivity.

As the diſtance from Samaria to Jeruſalem is but twenty leagues, and their territories lie contiguous, when one of theſe towns was razed by the powerful conquerors, the other could not hold out long. Thus we find that Jeruſalem was often ſacked: it was tributary to the kings Hazael and Rezin; reduced to ſlavery by Teglatphalezer; thrice taken by Nebuchadnezzar, or Nebucchadonezer; and at laſt deſtroyed. Zedekiah, whom the conqueror had appointed king or governor, was carried captive, together with all his people, into Babylon; ſo that no Jews were left remaining in Paleſtine, except a few families of country ſlaves to ſow the land.

With regard to the little country of Samaria and Sichem, which was more fertile than that of Jeruſalem, it was re-peopled by colonies of ſtrangers, who were ſent thither by the kings of Aſſyria, and took the name of Samaritans.

The two tribes and a half continuing in a ſtate of ſlavery for ſeventy years together in Babylon, and the neighbouring towns, had thereby an opportunity of learning the cuſtoms of their maſters, and of enriching their language by a proper mixture of the Chaldean tongue. From that time the Jews underſtood no other alphabet, or characters, than thoſe of the Chaldeans; and it is an indiſputable fact, that they even forgot the Hebrew dialect, ſubſtituting in its place from thenceforward the Chaldean tongue. Joſephus, the hiſtorian, declares, that he wrote at firſt in the Chaldean tongue, which was the language of his country. It appears, that

that the Jews imbibed a ſmall tincture of the ſciences of the magi. They ſoon became bankers, brokers, and chapmen; by which means they rendered themſelves neceſſary, as they ſtill are, and acquired immenſe fortunes.

Their great riches enabled them to procure from Cyrus a permiſſion to rebuild Jeruſalem; but when the time came, at which they were to have ſet out on their return home, thoſe who had grown rich at Babylon did not chuſe to quit ſuch a beautiful country for the mountains of Celoſyria, nor to abandon the fertile banks of the Tigris and Euphrates for the brook of Kidron. It was only the dregs and refuſe of the nation that returned with Zorobabel. The Jews of Babylon contributed only by their charitable collections towards rebuilding the city and temple; and even theſe collections were very inconſiderable. Eſdras ſays, that he could not make up in the whole above ſeventy thouſand crowns for rebuilding that temple, which was to be the temple of the univerſe.

The Jews were ſtill ſubject to the Perſians, as they were likewiſe ſoon after to Alexander; and when that great man, the moſt excuſeable of all conquerors, began, in the firſt years of his victorious reign, to build Alexandria, and to make it the centre of commerce to the whole world, the Jews flocked thither to follow their trade of brokerage; and then it was that their rabbies acquired ſome knowledge of the learning of the Greeks, the language of which people was now become abſolutely neceſſary to all the trading Jews.

After the death of Alexander, they continued in ſubjection to the kings of Syria, in Jeruſalem, and to the kings of Egypt in Alexandria, and when a war broke out between theſe monarchs, the Jews always underwent the common fate of ſubjects, and fell to the conqueror's ſhare.

From the time of their Babyloniſh captivity, the government of Jeruſalem never aſſumed the name of king. The adminiſtration of civil affairs was intruſted to the high prieſts, who were nominated by their maſters. This dignity they ſometimes purchaſed at a very high price, as is ſtill done by the Greek patriarch of Conſtantinople.

Under

Under Antiochus Epiphanes they raiſed a rebellion: the city was once more pillaged, and its walls laid level with the ground.

At length, after a train of the like diſaſters, they obtained from Antiochus Sidetes, for the firſt time, about one hundred and fifty years before the vulgar æra, the liberty of coining money. From this time their governors aſſumed the name of kings, and even wore a diadem. Antigonus was the firſt that was adorned with this enſign of royalty, which, after all, when ſtript of power, can confer but little honour.

The Romans now began to be formidable to the kings of Syria, who held the Jews in ſubjection: but theſe laſt gained the ſenate of Rome by their preſents and ſubmiſſive behaviour. The wars, which the Romans were waging in Aſia Minor, ſeemed to promiſe a long reſpite to this unhappy people; but hardly had Jeruſalem begun to enjoy the leaſt degree of liberty, when it was rent by civil wars, and rendered much more miſerable under its ſhadows of kings, than ever it had been in all the various kinds of ſlavery in which it had been involved.

The better to compoſe their inteſtine commotions, they choſe the Romans for their umpires. Moſt of the kingdoms of Aſia Minor, of the ſouthern part of Africa, and of three-fourths of Europe, already acknowledged the Romans for their lords and ſovereigns.

Pompey came into Syria to adminiſter juſtice to the different nations, and to depoſe ſome petty tyrants. Being impoſed upon by Ariſtobulus, who contended for the ſovereignty of Jeruſalem, he avenged himſelf both on him and his party. He took the city, hanged ſome of the moſt ſeditious, whether prieſts or Phariſees, and, long after that, condemned Ariſtobulus, the king of the Jews, to undergo a capital puniſhment.

The Jews, always wretched, always ſlaves, and always rebellious, drew upon them once more the Roman arms. Craſſus and Caſſius were ſent to chaſtiſe them; and Metellus Scipio cauſed one Alexander, a ſon of king Ariſtobulus, and the author of all theſe diſturbances, to be crucified.

Under

Under Julius Cæsar they were perfectly quiet and peaceable. Herod, who hath since become famous among us, as well as among them, and was for a long time a simple tetrarch, purchased the crown of Judea from Anthony at a very high price. But Jerusalem refused to acknowledge this new king, because he was descended from Esau, and not from Jacob, and was besides an Idumæan; and yet this circumstance of his being a stranger was the very thing that induced the Romans to chuse him, the better to curb this seditious people.

The Romans supported the king of their own nomination with an army; and Jerusalem was once more taken by assault, sacked, and pillaged.

Herod, being afterwards supported by Augustus, became one of the most powerful princes among all the petty monarchs of Arabia. He repaired Jerusalem, and rebuilt the fortress that surrounded the temple, for which the Jews had so great a veneration. He even began to build the temple anew; but could not bring the work to perfection, for want of money and work-men. Hence it appears, that, after all, Herod was far from being rich, and that the Jews, though fond of their temple, were still fonder of their money.

The name of king was merely a favour granted by the Romans, and by no means a title of succession: for, soon after Herod's death, Judea was reduced into the form of a lesser Roman province, and governed by the proconsul of Syria; though the title of king was sold, from time to time, for a round sum of money, sometimes to a Jew, and sometimes to one of another country; as it was to Agrippa the Jew, under the emperor Claudius.

Berenice, so famous for having engaged the affections of one of the best Roman emperors, was a daughter of Agrippa. This was the lady who, on account of the bad treatment which she suffered from her countrymen, drew upon Jerusalem the vengeance of the Roman arms. She demanded justice; but the factions in the city prevented her from obtaining her request. The seditious spirit of the people carried them into new excesses. Cruelty hath ever been

been their diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic, and ſevere exemplary puniſhments their juſt lot.

This memorable ſiege, which ended in the deſtruction of the city, was conducted by Titus and Veſpaſian. It is alledged by Joſephus, whoſe accounts are indeed moſtly exaggerated, that in the courſe of this ſhort war, a million of Jews and upward, were put to the ſword: no wonder that an author, who aſſigns fifteen thouſand inhabitants to every little village, ſhould kill a million of men! what remained of the people, were expoſed in the public markets, and every Jew was ſold for much the ſame price that is uſually paid for the unclean animal which they dare not eat.

In this laſt diſperſion, they ſtill hoped for a deliverer, and under the reign of Adrian, whom they curſed in their prayers, there aroſe one Barcoſhebas, who called himſelf a new Moſes, a Shilo, a Chriſt. A number of theſe unhappy wretches having crouded to his ſtandard, which they believed to be ſacred, were entirely deſtroyed, together with their leader; and this gave a finiſhing ſtroke to the fortunes of that nation, from which it was never afterwards able to recover. The only thing that hath preſerved them from utter deſtruction is their prevailing opinion, that barrenneſs is a diſgrace. There are two duties which the Jews conſider as the moſt indiſpenſable of all others, namely, the getting of money and children.

From this ſhort ſketch, it appears that the Jews have always been either fugitives, or free-booters, or ſlaves, or rebels. At this very day they are vagabonds in the earth, and deteſted by the reſt of mankind; confident as they are, that the heaven and the earth and all its inhabitants were created for them alone.

It is evident, as well from the ſituation of Judea, as from the genius of the people, that they muſt ever have been in a ſtate of ſubjection. Surrounded as they were, by ſtrong and warlike nations, which they abhorred, they could neither enter into an alliance with them, nor receive any protection from them. They could not poſſibly defend themſelves by a naval force, having ſoon loſt

loſt the harbour, which in Solomon's time they had in the Red Sea; and Solomon himſelf having always employed Tyrians to build and navigate his ſhips, as well as to raiſe the temple, and his own palace. Hence too it appears that the Hebrews were ſtrangers to induſtry, and could never compoſe a flouriſhing nation. They had no regular troops, as the Aſſyrians, the Medes, the Perſians, the Syrians and the Romans had. Their artiſts and peaſants took to arms upon preſſing emergencies, and of conſequence could never form a body of brave and warlike troops. Their mountains, or, to ſpeak more properly, their rocks, were neither ſufficient y high nor ſufficiently contiguous to defend the entry into their country. The greateſt part of the nation being tranſported to Babylon, to Perſia, or the Indies, or ſettled in Alexandria, were too cloſely engaged in trade and brokerage to think of war. Their civil government, whether republican, pontifical, monarchical, or reduced, as it often was, to a ſtate of anarchy, was as imperfect as their military diſcipline.

You aſk me what was the philoſophy of the Hebrews. My anſwer ſhall be very ſhort; they had no philoſophy at all. Their legiſlator does not ſo much as mention the immortality of the ſoul, nor a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments Joſephus and Philo Judeus believe that ſouls are material. Their doctors admit of corporeal angels; and during their abode at Babylon, they gave theſe angels the ſame names which the Chaldeans gave them; ſuch as Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel. The word Satan is of Babyloniſh extraction, and is much the ſame with the Aremanes of Zoroaſter. The name Aſmodeus too is a Chaldean word; and Tobias, who lived at Nineveh, is the firſt that uſed it. It was not till a long time after this that the Phariſees broached the doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul. The Sadduces always denied the ſpirituality and immortality of the ſoul, as alſo the exiſtence of angels; and yet the Sadduces always communicated with the Phariſees; there were even ſome high prieſts of the former ſect. This difference of opinions in theſe two great bodies was not productive of any diſturbances.

During

During the latter years of their abode at Jeruſalem, th Jews were only attached to their ceremonial law. The man who ſhould have taſted of pudding or rabbit, would have been ſtoned; but he, that denied the immortality of the ſoul, might attain to the dignity of high prieſt.

It is commonly ſuppoſed, that the hatred which the Jews bore to all other nations, was owing to their deteſtation of idolatry; but it is more probable that it proceeded from the barbarous manner in which they extirpated ſome colonies of the Canaanites, and the indignation which the neighbouring nations muſt of courſe have conceived againſt them. As they did not know of any other nations but ſuch as bordered on their own country, they imagined that in hating theſe they hated the whole earth, and thus accuſtomed themſelves to become the general enemies of mankind.

To be convinced that the idolatry of the neighbouring nations was not the true cauſe of their hatred, we need only conſult the hiſtory of the Jews, where we ſhall ſee that they themſelves were frequently idolaters. Solomon ſacrificed to ſtrange Gods; nor can we hardly find one king after him, that did not permit the worſhip of their gods, and offer them incenſe. The province of Iſrael preſerved its two calves and ſacred groves, or adored other deities.

This idolatry, of which the Heathens are commonly accuſed, is a ſubject but little underſtood. Perhaps it would be no difficult matter to clear the theology of the ancients from this aſperſion. All civilized nations have ever had a knowledge of one ſupreme Being, the ſovereign lord of gods and men. The Egyptians themſelves acknowledged a firſt principle, which they called Knef, and to which every thing beſides was ſubordinate. The ancient Perſians adored the good principle Oramaſdes, and were very far from ſacrificing to the bad principle Arimanes, whom they conſidered in much the ſame light as we do the devil. The ancient Brachmans acknowledged one ſupreme Being. The Chineſe never joined any inferior being with the Deity, nor had they any idol till the worſhip of Fohi, and the

ſuperſtition

ſuperſtition of the bonzees corrupted the minds of the people. The Greeks and Romans, notwithſtanding the great number of their gods, acknowledged Jupiter as the abſolute ſovereign of heaven and earth: nor does Homer himſelf, even in his moſt abſurd poetical fictions, ſo much as once deviate from this truth. He always repreſents Jupiter as the only omnipotent Being, who ſends good and evil upon the earth, and who by a ſingle motion of his eye-brows makes both gods and men tremble. It is true they raiſed altars and offered ſacrifices to other gods; but then they always conſider them as of an inferior order, and dependent on the ſupreme Being. There is not a ſingle inſtance, in all the records of antiquity, where the name of the ſovereign of heaven and earth is given to an inferior deity, ſuch as to Mercury, Apollo, or Mars. The thunder hath ever been an attribute of the ſupreme Lord of all.

The notion of a ſupreme Being, and of his providence and eternal decrees, is to be found in the works of all the poets and philoſophers. In a word, it would perhaps be as unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that the ancients equalled their heroes, their genii and inferior deities to that being whom they called the father and ſovereign of the gods, as it would be to imagine that we conſidered ſaints and angels as equal to the deity.

You further aſk me whether the ancient philoſophers and legiſlators derived their knowledge from the Jews, or the Jews from them. For an anſwer to this queſtion we muſt conſult Philo Judeus, who owns that before the ſeptuagint tranſlation of the Bible, the books of the Jewiſh nation were entirely unknown to foreigners. Beſides, it can hardly be ſuppoſed that great and mighty nations ſhould borrow their laws and knowledge from a handful of obſcure ſlaves. Add to this, that the Jews had no books in the time of Hoziah. Under his reign the only remaining copy of the law was found by accident. From the time of the Babyloniſh captivity, they underſtood no alphabet but that of the Chaldeans. They were not famous for any art or manufacture; and even in the time of Solomon they were

were obliged to hire foreign workmen at a high price. To ſuppoſe that the Egyptians, the Greeks, and Perſians, derived their knowledge from the Jews, is to ſuppoſe that the Romans learned their arts and ſciences from the Low Bretons. The Jews were utterly unacquainted with natural philoſophy, geometry, and aſtronomy Far from having any public ſchools for the education of youth, they have not ſo much as a word to expreſs that inſtitution. The inhabitants of Mexico and Peru regulated their year with much greater exactneſs than the Jews. Their abode at Babylon and Alexandria, where ſome of them might have been ſuppoſed to have acquired a little learning, contributed only to improve them in the practice of uſury. They never underſtood the art of coining money; even when they had obtained a permiſſion for that purpoſe from Antiochus Sidetes, it was four or five years before they could avail themſelves of it; and after all, it is alledged that the money was coined at Samaria. Hence it is that Jewiſh medals are ſo rare, and that moſt of them are ſpurious. In a word, after the moſt exact ſcrutiny, you will find the Jews to be an ignorant and barbarous people, who have long joined the moſt ſordid avarice to the moſt abominable ſuperſtition, and to an implacable hatred of all other nations, among which, however, they are allowed to reſide, and to acquire immenſe fortunes. "And yet we do not think they ſhould be committed to the flames."

OF

OF THE

AGE

OF

CONSTANTINE and JULIAN.

OF all the ages that ſucceeded the reign of Auguſtus, that of Conſtantine is the moſt remarkable. The mighty innovations, which he introduced into the world, will render his name famous to the lateſt poſterity. He began, it is true, by reviving the ſpirit of barbarity. Not only were there no Ciceros, no Horaces, no Virgils to be found in his reign; there were not even any Lucans or Senecas; not one judicious or faithful hiſtorian; nothing was to be ſeen but ſuſpected ſatires, or more dangerous panegyrics.

The Chriſtians began about this time to write hiſtory; but took neither Livy nor Thucydides for their model. The profeſſors of the ancient religion of the empire wrote with as little elegance of ſtile, and as little regard to truth. The two parties, inflamed with mutual rancour, loaded each other with the groſſeſt and moſt undiſtinguiſhing abuſe; and hence it is that we find the ſame man ſometimes exalted into a God, and ſometimes degraded into a devil.

The Romans began viſibly to decline in all the polite ſciences, and even in the loweſt mechanic arts, as well as in virtue and eloquence, after the reign of Marcus Aurelius. He was the laſt emperor of the Stoic ſect; a ſect that raiſes man above himſelf, by making him ſevere to his own failings, and compaſſionate towards the failings of others. After the death of this truly philoſophic emperor, all was tyranny and confuſion.

confuſion. The ſoldiers frequently diſpoſed of the imperial crown. The ſenate fell into ſuch contempt, that in the time of Galien a law was enacted expreſsly prohibiting the ſenators from following a military life. We find at one and the ſame time no leſs than thirty leading men, each at the head of a party, aſſuming the title of emperor, in thirty different provinces. About the middle of the third century, the barbarians poured in from all quarters upon the empire, which was already torn in pieces by the inteſtine broils, and which, nevertheleſs, maintained itſelf for ſome time by the mere force of its military diſcipline.

During theſe commotions chriſtianity gained ground by degrees, eſpecially in Egypt and Syria, and on the borders of Aſia Minor. The Romans admitted of all kinds of religion, as well as of all ſorts of philoſophical ſects. They permitted the worſhip of Oſiris; and, notwithſtanding their frequent revolts, they even granted the Jews ſome very conſiderable privileges. But the people in the provinces roſe againſt the Chriſtians, who were likewiſe perſecuted by the magiſtrates; and even imperial edicts were frequently publiſhed againſt them. Nor ought we to wonder that chriſtianity was held in ſuch general deteſtation, whilſt ſo many other kinds of religion were tolerated. The Egyptians, the Jews, and the votaries of the Syrian goddeſs, and of ſuch a multiplicity of other ſtrange gods, never declared open war againſt the gods of the empire, nor even exclaimed againſt the prevailing religion; but one of the firſt duties of a chriſtian was to extirpate the eſtabliſhed religion of the empire. The heathen prieſts complained loudly of the great diminution of ſacrifices and offerings; and the people, always headſtrong and fanatical, roſe againſt the Chriſtians, who were nevertheleſs protected by ſeveral emperors. Adrian forbade the Romans to moleſt them on any account. Marcus Aurelius gave ſtrict orders that they ſhould not be perſecuted on the ſcore of religion. Caracalla, Heliogabalus, Alexander, Philip, and Galien, allowed them an entire liberty of conſcience. In the third century they had public churches, which were very magnificent, and crowd-

ed

ed with hearers; and ſo great was the liberty they enjoyed, that they held no leſs than ſixteen councils in the courſe of this century. The road to poſts of honour being ſhut againſt the firſt Chriſtians, who were moſtly of an obſcure extraction, they applied themſelves to commerce, and by that means acquired immenſe fortunes. This hath ever been the reſource of all thoſe ſectaries who are diſqualified for enjoying any poſt in the ſtate; ſuch as the Calviniſts in France, the Nonconformiſts in England, the Catholics in Holland, the Armenians in Perſia, the Banians in India, and the Jews in every part of the globe. At laſt the toleration became unlimited, and the ſpirit of the government grew ſo gentle, that the Chriſtians were admitted to all kinds of honours and dignities. They did not ſacrifice to the gods of the empire: the Romans never concerned themſelves whether they went to the temples or not; they allowed every one a full liberty of conſcience with regard to religious duties, and nobody was obliged to perform them. The Chriſtians enjoyed the ſame liberty with others; and ſo true it is, that they attained to poſts of honour, that in 303, we find Diocleſian and Galerius depriving them of this advantage in that perſecution, which we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the ſequel.

We ought to adore the divine Providence in all its ways; but according to your orders, I confine myſelf to political hiſtory.

One Manes,* in the reign of Probus, and about the year 278, broached a new religion in Alexandria. This ſect was compoſed of the ancient principles of the Perſians, and of ſome doctrines of Chriſtianity. Probus and his ſucceſſor Carus, let Manes and the Chriſtians live

* His firſt name was Curbicus, and his rank in life that of a ſlave to a widow, by whom he was adopted. At her death he aſſumed the name of Manes, pretended to be an apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt, and even the Holy Ghoſt. He taught the good and evil principles of the magi, and the tranſmigration of ſouls: he denied the reſurrection, and forbad marriage. In a word, his doctrines are compoſed of a great number of abſurdities, borrowed from the religion of the Jews, Perſians, and other pagans.

live in peace. Numerien gave them a full liberty of conſcience. Diocleſian protected the Chriſtians, and tolerated the Manichæans for twelve years; but in 296 he iſſued out an edict againſt the Manichæans, and baniſhed them as enemies to the empire, and friends to the Perſians. The Chriſtians were not comprehended in this edict, but continued to live in peace under Diocleſian, and to make open profeſſion of their religion in every part of the empire, till the two laſt years of that prince's reign.

In order to finiſh the picture which you deſire me to draw, I muſt here beg leave to give you a ſhort account of the ſtate of the Roman empire at this period. Notwithſtanding the violent ſhocks which it had lately ſuſtained, as well from internal commotions, as from the incurſions of the barbarians, it ſtill comprehended all that is now poſſeſſed by the grand ſignior, except Arabia, all the German dominions of the houſe of Auſtria; and indeed all the provinces of Germany as far as the Elbe. It likewiſe contained Italy, France, Spain, England, half of Scotland, all Africa, to the deſert of Dara, and even the Canary iſles. And yet theſe extenſive and widely diſtant countries were all held in ſubjection by an army not near ſo conſiderable as what France or Germany, when engaged in war, uſually ſend into the field.

This mighty empire continued to gather ſtrength; and even an increaſe of territory from the time of Cæſar, to that of Theodoſius, as well by its laws, its policy, and acts of generoſity, as by the force of its arms and the terror of its name. It is ſtill matter of great ſurprize, that not one of the many nations that were conquered by the Romans, hath ever been able, ſince the recovery of their liberty, either to make ſuch large and ſpacious roads, or to build ſuch magnificent amphitheatres and public baths as were left them by their conquerors. Countries now almoſt reduced to deſerts, and over-run with barbarity, were then populous, and bleſſed with a regular government; ſuch as Epirus, Macedonia, Theſſalia, Illyria, Pannonia, and eſpeci-

ally Asia Minor, and the borders of Africa. It must be owned indeed that Germany, France, and England, were far from being then what they are at present. These three centuries seem to have gained most by the recovery of their liberty; and yet it has required near twelve centuries to put them into the flourishing condition in which they now are. But with regard to all the rest, it must be acknowledged that they have lost greatly by changing their laws and masters. The ruins of Asia Minor and of Greece, the scanty number of inhabitants that is now to be found in Egypt, and the barbarity that overspreads Africa, are standing monuments of the Roman grandeur. The many flourishing towns, with which these countries were once covered, are now changed into wretched villages; and even the very soil has grown barren under the hands of its stupid and brutish inhabitants.

But I must now endeavour to give you a few remarks on the reign of Diocletian, who was one of the most powerful emperors that ever swayed the Roman sceptre, and has been the subject of much panegyric, and of much satire.

OF DIOCLESIAN.

AFTER several weak and tyrannical reigns, Rome at last found a good emperor in Probus, who was nevertheless murdered by the legions. They chose in his place one Carus, who was killed by a thunderbolt not far from the Tigris, as he was making war upon the Persians. His son Numerian was immediately proclaimed by the soldiers. Historians tell us, and with an air of great gravity too, that this youth deplored the death of his father with such floods of tears as almost deprived him of his sight; and that in making a campaign he was ever after obliged to be surrounded with four curtains. He was killed in his bed by his father-in-law Aper, who ascended the throne in his place. But a Gallish druid having foretold that Diocletian, one of the

the generals of the army, ſhould become emperor immediately after having killed a wild boar, which in Latin is called Aper, that general aſſembled the army, killed Aper with his own hand, in preſence of the ſoldiers, and thus accompliſhed the druid's prediction. The hiſtorians, who relate this oracle as an undoubted fact, deſerve to be fed with the fruit of the tree which the druids ſo greatly revere*. Certain it is, Diocleſian killed the emperor's father-in-law; and this it ſeems was his firſt title to the throne. The ſecond was, that Numerian had a brother called Carinus, who was likewiſe emperor, and who, having oppoſed the elevation of Diocleſian, was killed by one of his own military tribunes. Such were the claims which Diocleſian had to the crown; and for a long time indeed no other were regarded.

He was a native of Dalmatia, and born in the little town of Dioclæa, from which he took his name. If what is alledged be true, that his father was a common labourer, and that he himſelf in his youth was the ſlave of a certain ſenator, called Anulinus, it is the higheſt compliment that can be paid to his memory, inaſmuch as he muſt have owed his elevation entirely to his own merit; for it is evident that he gained the eſteem, and conciliated the affections of the ſoldiers to ſuch a degree, as to make them forget his birth, and raiſe him to the throne. Lactantius, a chriſtian author, but a little too partial, pretends to affirm that Diocleſian was the greateſt coward in the empire. But it is extremely improbable, that the Roman ſoldiers ſhould chuſe a coward for their emperor, and that this coward ſhould have paſſed through all the different ranks of the army. Lactantius, no doubt, is much to be commended for his pious zeal againſt a heathen emperor, though it were to be wiſhed that he had been a little more prudent in his manner of expreſſing it.

He kept theſe fierce ſoldiers, who made and unmade their emperors with equal eaſe, in a ſtate of order and ſubjection for twenty years; which is another proof, notwithſtanding

* That is acorns.

ſtanding all that Lactantius hath ſaid to the contrary, that he was as great a prince as he was a brave ſoldier. Under his government the empire ſoon recovered its former ſplendour. The Gauls, the Africans, the Egyptians, and the Engliſh, who ſeverally revolted, were all reduced to their former allegiance to the Roman empire; and the Perſians were entirely ſubdued. Such a conſtant courſe of ſucceſs abroad, and a more happy adminiſtration at home; laws equally humane and wiſe, as may ſtill be ſeen in the Juſtinian code; Rome, Milan, Autun, Nicomedia, and Carthage, embelliſhed by his munificence, all conſpired to procure him the love and eſteem of both the eaſtern and weſtern parts of the empire; ſo that, two hundred and forty years after his death, the firſt year of his reign was conſidered as the common æra, in the ſame manner as the foundation of Rome had formerly been. This is what is uſually called the æra of Diocleſian. Some affect to call it the æra of the martyrs: but that is an error of at leaſt eighteen years; for it is indiſputably certain that Diocleſian did not perſecute a ſingle Chriſtian for the firſt eighteen years of his reign. On the contrary, one of the firſt things he did, after aſcending the throne, was to grant a company of the pretorian guards to a Chriſtian, called Sebaſtian, who is likewiſe to be found in the catalogue of ſaints.

He was not afraid to admit a colleague on the throne, in the perſon of a ſoldier of fortune like himſelf. This was a friend of his own, one Maximilianus Hercules. The ſimilarity of their fortunes was the foundation of their friendſhip. Maximilianus Hercules was born of mean and poor parents, and, like Diocleſian, had raiſed himſelf by his courage. Some people have found fault with Maximilianus for aſſuming the ſurname of Hercules, and with Diocleſian for taking that of Jovius*; not remembering that we every day ſee clergymen of the name of Hercules, and citizens who are called Cæſar or Auguſtus.

Dio-

* Jovius was no more than a Latin tranſlation of his Greek name Diocles.

Diocleſian created two Cæſars more. The firſt was another Maximilianus, ſurnamed Galerius, who had originally been a ſhepherd. One would think that Diocleſian, the moſt haughty and ſupercilious man in the world, and the firſt that introduced the cuſtom of kiſſing the emperor's feet, took a pride in filling the throne of the Cæſars with men of the meaneſt extraction. A ſlave and two peaſants were now at the head of the empire, which, notwithſtanding, was never in a more flouriſhing condition.

The ſecond Cæſar he created was a perſon of illuſtrious birth, being by his mother the grand nephew of the emperor Claudius II. his name Conſtantius Chlorus. By theſe four princes was the empire governed. This aſſociation might have produced four civil wars in the ſpace of one year; but Diocleſian knew ſo well how to overawe his colleagues, that he obliged them to pay him a proper reſpect, and to live in harmony among themſelves. Theſe princes, though dignified with the lofty title of Cæſars, were in reality no more than his prime miniſters. We even find him treating them with all the authority of an abſolute ſovereign; for when Cæſar Galerius, who had been beat by the Perſians, came to Meſopotamia to give him an account of his defeat, he left him to walk for a mile together by the ſide of his chariot, and did not receive him into his favour, till he had repaired his fault and retrieved his misfortune.

This Galerius had the good fortune to do in the ſucceeding year 297, in a very ſignal manner. He beat the king of Perſia in perſon. Theſe kings of Perſia had never, ſince the battle of Arbella, been cured of the folly of bringing their wives, their daughters, and eunuchs to the field. Galerius took the king of Perſia's wife and family, as Alexander had done before, and treated them with the ſame reſpect. The peace was as glorious as the victory. The Perſians ceded five provinces to the Romans, extending from the ſandy deſerts of Palmyra to Armenia.

Diocleſian and Galerius went to Rome to exhibit a new kind of triumph. This was the firſt time that ever

the Romans had ſeen the wife and children of a Perſian monarch in chains. The empire enjoyed peace and plenty. Diocleſian viſited all the provinces, and went from Rome to Egypt, Syria, and Aſia Minor. His uſual reſidence was not at Rome, but at Nicomedia, near the Euxine ſea; whether it was that he had choſen this place the more narrowly to watch the motions of the Perſians and Barbarians, or from an attachment to a retreat which he himſelf had embelliſhed.

It was in the midſt of theſe ſucceſſes that Galerius began to perſecute the Chriſtians. Why had they been allowed to live in peace ſo long? and why were they now perſecuted? Euſebius ſays, that one Marcellus, a centurion of Trajan's legion, which was then in Mauritania, happening to aſſiſt with his company at a feaſt that was given on account of the victory obtained by Galerius, threw down his military belt, his arms, and his bundle of vine-branches, which was the badge of his office, ſaying aloud that he was a Chriſtian, and that he would ſerve pagans no longer. The deſerter was capitally puniſhed by a council of war; and this is the firſt avowed inſtance of that famous perſecution. Certain it is, there were many Chriſtians in the Roman army; and the intereſt of the ſtate required that ſuch a public deſertion ſhould not paſs unpuniſhed. Marcellus's zeal, no doubt, was extremely pious; but unhappily it was far from being reaſonable. If in this feaſt, which was given in Mauritania, the gueſts eat any kinds of meat that had been offered to heathen gods, the law did not command Marcellus to partake with them; but neither ſurely did chriſtianity command him to give an example of ſedition; and there is no country in the world where ſuch an inexcuſable action would not be ſeverely puniſhed.

Nevertheleſs, after this adventure of Marcellus, it does not appear that the Chriſtians underwent any freſh perſecution till the year 303. At Nicomedia they had a ſuperb cathedral, oppoſite the palace, and even higher than it. Hiſtorians do not inform us why Galerius demanded of Diocleſian the inſtant demolition of this

this church; but they tell us that Diocleſian was a long time in coming to a reſolution; and that it was almoſt a year before he would give his conſent. After this, is it not ſomewhat ſtrange that Diocleſian ſhould be called a perſecutor? At laſt in 303 the church was demoliſhed, and an edict publiſhed, depriving the Chriſtians of all marks of honour, and of all places of truſt. From the very circumſtance of their being deprived of theſe, it is evident that they once poſſeſſed them. Some Chriſtian or other was ſo fooliſh as to pull down the imperial edict from the poſt to which it was affixed, and publicly tear it in pieces. This ſurely could not proceed from a principle of religion; but from a ſpirit of rebellion. Hence it is probable that an indiſcreet zeal, and which, in the language of ſcripture, was not according to knowledge, occaſioned this fatal perſecution. Some time after, the palace of Galerius was burnt; Galerius accuſed the Chriſtians of having ſet fire to it; and they, in their turn, accuſed him of having done it himſelf in order to find a pretext for blackening their character. The accuſation which Galerius brings againſt the Chriſtians ſeems to be unjuſt; that which they bring againſt him is no leſs ſo: for the edict being already publiſhed, what need had he for a new pretext? If, in fact, he wanted new arguments to engage Diocleſian in a perſecution, that would only be a freſh proof of Diocleſian's averſion to abandon the Chriſtians, whom he had always protected; as it would plainly ſhew that new motives were neceſſary to puſh him on to violent meaſures.

It cannot be denied that there were many Chriſtians put to the torture in the empire; but we can hardly reconcile with the lenity of the Roman laws all thoſe exquiſite torments and mutilations, thoſe plucked-out tongues, thoſe mangled and broiled limbs, and thoſe public inſults upon modeſty, inconſiſtent with common decency, which we every where read of. No Roman law ever enjoined ſuch puniſhments. The populace indeed, from their hatred to the Chriſtians, might poſſibly be carried to the commiſſion of ſome ſhocking cruelties; but we do not find that theſe cruelties had the ſanction either of the emperor or the ſenate.

The juſt grief of the Chriſtians probably vented itſelf in exaggerated complaints. The Acta Sincera informs us, that when the emperor was at Antioch, the pretor condemned to the flames a chriſtian child called Romain; and that the Jews, who were preſent at the execution, wickedly fell a laughing, and ſaid, "We had once three children, Shadrach, Meſhech, and Abednego, who were not burnt though caſt into the firery furnace; but theſe Chriſtians burn faſt enough." But, to the utter confuſion of the Jews, a heavy ſhower of rain fell at that very inſtant, and extinguiſhed the pile, and the boy came out of it, ſaying, "where then is the fire?" The Acta Sincera add, that the emperor gave him his life; but that the Judge ordered his tongue to be cut out. But is it credible that a judge ſhould cut out the tongue of a boy to whom the emperor had granted a pardon?

But what follows is ſtill more ſurpriſing. 'Tis pretended, that an old chriſtian phyſician, called Ariſton, who happened to be preſent with his anatomical knife, cut out the boy's tongue, in order to make his court to the pretor. Little Romain was immediately ſent to priſon, and the jailor aſked him the news. The child gave him a long account of the manner in which the old phyſician had cut out his tongue. It muſt be obſerved, that, before the operation, the boy ſtammered greatly in his ſpeech; but that he now ſpoke with ſurpriſing volubility. The jailor did not fail to acquaint the emperor with this miracle. The old phyſician was ſent for, and examined: he ſwore that he had performed the operation according to the rules of art, and ſhewed them the child's tongue, which he had kept in a box as a ſacred relick. "Give me the firſt man that comes in, ſays he: I will cut out his tongue in your majeſty's preſence, and then you ſhall ſee whether or not he can ſpeak." The propoſal was accepted, and a poor man pitched upon for the purpoſe. The phyſician cut out as much of his tongue as he had done of the boy's, and the man expired in an inſtant.

I am willing to believe that the Acts which relate this

this fact, are as ſincere as their title imports; but ſurely they are more ſimple than ſincere: and it is ſtrange that Fleury, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ſhould relate ſuch a prodigious number of the like facts, which are more apt to occaſion ſcandal than to promote edification.

You muſt further obſerve, that in 303, when it is alledged that Dioclesian was preſent at this pretty adventure, he was actually at Rome, and ſpent the whole year in Italy. It is pretended that it was at Rome, and even in the emperor's preſence, that St. Geneſtus, the comedian, was converted on the ſtage, as he was playing a comedy againſt the Chriſtians. This comedy plainly ſhews, that the taſte of Plautus and Terence was then extinct. What is now called comedy, or Italian farce, ſeem to have taken its riſe in thoſe times. St. Geneſtus acted a ſick perſon. The phyſician aſked him what was his diſeaſe. "I feel myſelf too heavy," ſays Geneſtus. "Would you chuſe to be pared a little," ſays the phyſician, "to make you more light?" "No," replies Geneſtus; "but I will die a Chriſtian, that ſo I may be raiſed with a handſome ſhape." Upon which the actors, dreſſed like prieſts and conjurers, came to baptize him. At that inſtant Geneſtus became a Chriſtian; and, inſtead of finiſhing his part, began to preach to the emperor and the people. This miracle is likewiſe contained in the Acta Sincera.

Certain it is, there were many real martyrs; but it is equally certain, that the provinces were not deluged with blood, as is commonly ſuppoſed. Mention is made of about two hundred martyrs that ſuffered in the whole extent of the Roman empire, during the laſt years of Dioclesian's reign: and it appears, even from the letters of Conſtantine himſelf, that Dioclesian had a leſs ſhare in this perſecution than Galerius*.

* Nevertheleſs he is ſaid to have entered ſo eagerly into the ſpirit of this perſecution, that he cauſed trophies to be erected, with inſcriptions (ſome of them ſtill extant in Spain) importing, that he had extended the Roman empire both in the Eaſt and Weſt, extinguiſhed the name of the Chriſtians, who had embroiled the republic, aboliſhed their ſuperſtition over all the earth, and augmented the worſhip of the gods.

Diocleſian fell ſick in the courſe of this year, and, finding his ſtrength impaired, was the firſt that gave the world an example of abdicating an empire; though it is hard to ſay whether this abdication was voluntary or forced. What is certain is, that, having recovered his health, he lived nine years after, equally honoured and undiſturbed, in his country-houſe at Salona, the place of his birth. He was wont to ſay that he had never begun to live till the day of his retirement; and, when preſſed to remount the throne, he declared, tha it was not worth the tranquillity he now enjoyed; and that he took more pleaſure in cultivating his garden, than he had ever done in governing the world. What is the natural inference from all theſe facts? Is it not that, notwithſtanding his many failings, he reigned like a great emperor, and died like a philoſopher?

OF CONSTANTINE.

AT preſent I do not mean to ſpeak of that confuſion which overſpread the empire, after the abdication of Diocleſian. Upon his death there were no leſs than ſix emperors at once. Conſtantine triumphed over them all; changed the religion of the empire; and was the author not only of the grand revolution, but likewiſe of all the other innovations that have ſince taken place in the Weſt. You want to know his real character. Aſk it of Julian, of Zoſimus, of Sozomenus, and of Victor. They will tell you, that, at firſt, he was a great prince; afterwards a public robber; and, laſt of all, a voluptuary, a debauchee, and a prodigal. They will paint him as an ambitious, cruel, and blood-thirſty tyrant. But aſk it, on the other hand, of Euſebius, of Gregory of Nazianzene, and of Lanctantius, and they will tell you, that he was a man poſſeſſed of every virtue. Between theſe

theſe two extremes, how ſhall we diſcover the truth? By well vouched facts, and by theſe alone. He had a father-in law; him he obliged to hang himſelf. He had a brother-in-law; him he ſtrangled. He had a nephew, of twelve or thirteen years of age; his throat he cut. He had a ſon and heir; his head he took off. He had a wife; and her he ſtifled in a bath *. An old French author ſays, "that he loved to make a clean houſe."

If to theſe domeſtic crimes you add, that happening to be one day hunting a band of Franks that inhabited the banks of the Rhine, and having taken their kings, who were probably of the family of our Pharamond and Clodian the Hairy, he expoſed them to wild beaſts for his diverſion; you may then ſafely conclude, that he was not the moſt humane and polite man in the world.

Let us now take a curſory view of the principal events of his reign. His father, Conſtantius Chlorus, was in England, where he had borne the title of emperor for a few months. Conſtantine was at Nicomedia with the emperor Galerius, from whom he aſked leave to go and viſit his father, who was ſick. Galerius granted his requeſt; and Conſtantine ſet out on the poſt-horſes of the empire, which were called Veredarii. It was no leſs dangerous, it ſeems, to be a poſt-horſe than to be a member of Conſtantine's family; for the moment he had finiſhed his journey, he cauſed all the horſes to be hamſtrung, for fear that Galerius ſhould revoke his permiſſion, and order him to return to Nicomedia. Finding his father on his death-bed, he procured himſelf to be declared emperor by the few Roman troops that were then in England.

A Roman emperor choſen at York, by five or ſix thouſand men, could not poſſibly be recognized at Rome, as lawfully elected: he wanted, at leaſt, the formula of *ſenatus populuſque Romanus*. The ſenate, the people, and the pretorian guards, unanimouſly fixed their choice upon Maxentius, ſon to Cæſar Maximilianus

* We have in another place, made ſome remarks on this heavy charge.

milianus Hercules, himſelf already a Cæſar, and brother of that Fauſta whom Conſtantine had married, and afterwards put to death. This Maxentius is called a tyrant and uſurper by our hiſtorians, who are always ſure to ſide with the ſtrongeſt party. He protected the heathen religion, in oppoſition to Conſtantine, who already began to declare for the Chriſtians. A heathen, and vanquiſhed! how could he fail to be reckoned an abominable wretch?

Euſebius tells us, that when Conſtantine was going to Rome to attack Maxentius, both he and the whole army ſaw in the clouds the large ſtandard of the emperors, called Labarum, mounted with a large Greek R, with a St. Andrew's Croſs, and two Greek words, the meaning of which was, "By this you ſhall conquer." Some authors alledge, that this ſign appeared at Beſançon; others ſay that it was at Cologne; ſome at Treves, and others at Troye. —— Strange! that heaven ſhould explain itſelf in Greek in all theſe different countries. It would have been more natural, at leaſt in the judgment of ſhort-ſighted mortals, for this ſign to have made its appearance in Italy on the day of battle; but then the inſcription muſt have been in Latin. A learned antiquary, of the name of Laiſel, hath refuted the authenticity of this phænomenon; in conſequence of which he hath been branded with the appellation of an infidel.

After the victory which Conſtantine obtained, the ſenate were not backward in adoring the conqueror, and execrating the memory of the conquered. They immediately ſtripped the triumphal arch of Marcus Aurelius to adorn that of Conſtantine, to whom they likewiſe erected a golden ſtatue; an honour which, before that time, had never been paid to any but the gods. This he received, notwithſtanding the Labarum; as alſo the title of high prieſt, which he retained all his life. His firſt care, according to Nazarius and Zozimus, was to extirpate the whole race of the tyrant, together with his principal friends; after

ter which he aſſiſted, with great humanity, at the ſpectacles and public games.

The old Dioclesian was then dying in his retreat at Salona. Conſtantine need not have been in ſuch a hurry to demoliſh his ſtatue at Rome. He might have remembered, if he pleaſed, that this emperor had been his father's benefactor, and had even been the means of raiſing him to the throne. Having thus vanquiſhed Maxentius, his next buſineſs was to get rid of Licinius, his brother-in-law, who was dignified with the title of Auguſtus as well as himſelf; and Licinius, on his part, reſolved to make away with Conſtantine, if he poſſibly could. But, as their quarrels were not yet come to an open rupture, they granted, conjointly, at Milan, in 313, the famous edict of liberty of conſcience. "We give every man, ſay they, a liberty of following whatever religion he pleaſes, that ſo we may draw down the bleſſing of heaven upon us and our ſubjects; and we declare, that we have granted the Chriſtians a free and full permiſſion of profeſſing their religion, provided that every other perſon ſhall enjoy the ſame privileges, that ſo the peace of our reign may not be diſturbed."

Conſtantine was not as yet a Chriſtian, any more than his colleague Licinius. He had ſtill another emperor or tyrant to deſtroy, one Maximinus, a determined pagan. Licinius fought Maximinus before he attacked Conſtantine. Heaven was ſtill more propitious to him, than it had ever been to Conſtantine himſelf. The latter had only the appearance of a ſtandard; the former had that of an angel. This angel taught him a prayer, by virtue of which he muſt undoubtedly conquer the barbarian Maximinus. Licinius put the prayer in writing, recited it three times to his army, and obtained a complete victory. Had this Licinius, brother-in-law to Conſtantine, enjoyed a happy reign, we ſhould have heard of nothing but his angel; but Conſtantine, having cauſed him to be hanged, cut the throat of his young ſon, and rendered himſelf an abſolute ſovereign, we now hear of nothing but of Conſtantine's Labarum.

It

It is commonly believed that he put his eldeſt ſon Criſpus, and his wife Fauſta, to death, the ſame year that he aſſembled the council of Nice. Zozimus and Sozomenus pretend, that when the heathen prieſts told him that his crimes were inexpiable, he immediately made open profeſſion of Chriſtianity, and demoliſhed ſeveral temples in the Eaſt. It is not likely that the heathen prieſts would neglect ſuch a favourable opportunity of bringing back to their party the high prieſt, by whom they had been abandoned: and yet there might poſſibly be among them ſome rigid fanatics; for ſuch are every where to be found. But, what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, Conſtantine the Chriſtian underwent no penance for his parricides. It was at Rome that he committed theſe barbarous crimes, and from that time he could never endure to reſide in it: he therefore left it intirely, aud went to build the city of Conſtantinople. How can he preſume to ſay, as he does in one of his reſcripts, that he transferred the ſeat of the empire to Conſtantinople by the expreſs orders of God? Is not this at once to mock the Deity, and to inſult the common ſenſe of mankind? Had God given him any orders, would it not have been not to aſſaſſinate his wife and ſon?

Diocleſian had ſet the example of transferring the ſeat of the empire towards the borders of Aſia. The Romans, enſlaved and degenerated as they already were, could not endure the pride, the deſpotiſm, and the effeminacy of the Aſiatics. The emperors would never have dared to introduce the cuſtom of making their ſubjects kiſs their feet at Rome, nor to fill their palaces with crowds of eunuchs. Diocleſian began at Nicodemia to put the Roman court upon the ſame footing with that of the Perſian monarchs; and Conſtantine accompliſhed the pernicious ſcheme at Conſtantinople. From that time Rome loſt her ancient ſpirit, and gradually fell into decay; and thus Conſtantine gave the moſt fatal blow that ever was given to the Roman empire.

Of all the emperors he was certainly the moſt deſpotic. Auguſtus had left the Romans, at leaſt, the ſhadow of liberty. Tiberius, and even Nero himſelf, had cajoled the ſenate and the people. But Conſtantine was above condeſcending to theſe political arts. By diſbanding, immediately upon his elevation to the throne, the brave pretorian ſoldiers, who conſidered themſelves as maſters of the Roman emperors, he eſtabliſhed his authority upon a ſolid foundation. He made an intire ſeparation between the ſword and the gown. The depoſitaries of the laws, now cruſhed by the military power, were, at beſt, but enſlaved lawyers. The Roman provinces were governed on a new plan *. The great aim of Conſtantine was to be abſolute in every thing; and, in fact, he was ſo both in church and ſtate. We ſee him convoking and opening the council of Nice; entering amidſt the fathers, covered with jewels and adorned with a diadem; taking the firſt place, and baniſhing indiſcriminately one while Arius, and at another St. Athanaſius. He put himſelf at the head of Chriſtianity, without being a Chriſtian; for, in thoſe times, none but ſuch as were baptized were diſtinguiſhed by that appellation; ſo that, in effect, Conſtantine was only a catechumen. Even the cuſtom of waiting the approach of death, in order to be dipt in the water of regeneration, began to be diſcontinued by ſome individuals. If Conſtantine imagined, that, by deferring his baptiſm, he might commit all manner of crimes with impunity, in hopes of obtaining a full pardon at laſt, it was very unlucky for the reſt of the world, that ſuch an opinion ſhould have

* The empire was divided into four general governments, each under the authority of a perfectus prætorii; though he had no power over the troops, the command of which was given to provincial generals, who had under them counts and dukes. Each general government was ſubdivided into dioceſes, the governors of which were ſtiled vicars of the perfecti prætorii; and every dioceſe was compoſed of ſeveral petty provinces, ruled by conſulars, preſidents, or correctors. This ſubdiviſion had been firſt made by Dioclefian.

have been put into the head of a man ſo powerful and deſpotic.

Of JULIAN.

LET us ſuppoſe, for a moment, that Julian abandoned the heathen for the chriſtian religion. Let us next conſider him as a man, a philoſopher, and an emperor; and then let us try if we can find a prince of a more excellent character. Within theſe few years his name was never mentioned without the epithet of Apoſtate; and it is, perhaps, one of the greateſt efforts of reaſon, that we have at length ceaſed to diſtinguiſh him by that opprobrious appellation. The ſtudy of the liberal arts has inſpired the learned with the ſpirit of toleration. Who would believe, that, in one of the numbers of the Paris Mercury in 1741, the author ſhould ſeverely cenſure a public writer, for being ſo much wanting to common decency, as to call this emperor "Julian the Apoſtate." Had any one, an hundred years ago, refuſed to call him an apoſtate, he himſelf would have been ſure to incur the imputation of atheiſm.

What is equally certain and ſurpriſing is, that if you lay aſide the conſideration of his unhappy change, and neither follow him to the chriſtian churches, nor the pagan temples; but obſerve him narrowly in his houſe, in the camp, in battle, in his manners, his conduct, and writings; you will find him equal, in every reſpect, to Marcus Aurelius. And hence, perhaps, you may be convinced that this man, who is commonly repreſented as an abominable wretch, is nevertheleſs the firſt, or, at leaſt, the ſecond of mankind. Always ſober, and always temperate; keeping no miſtreſſes; lying upon a bear's ſkin,

ſkin, and in that ſimple couch giving but a few hours to ſleep; dividing his time between ſtudy and buſineſs; generous, friendly, and modeſt: had he been a private man, he would have been the object of univerſal admiration.

If we conſider him as a hero, we ſhall find him always at the head of his troops, re-eſtabliſhing military diſcipline without ſeverity, and equally beloved and reſpected by his ſoldiers; leading his armies almoſt always on foot, and ſharing with them in all their dangers; ſucceſsful in all his expeditions; and at laſt ending his days in gaining a complete victory over the Perſians. His death was that of a hero, and his laſt words were thoſe of a philoſopher. "I cheerfully ſubmit," ſaid he, "to the eternal decrees of heaven; convinced that he, who would wiſh to live when he muſt die, is more cowardly than he, who would wiſh to die when he ought to live." He continued, to his laſt hour, to diſcourſe on the immortality of the ſoul. No fruitleſs complaints, no unmanly fears; he talked of nothing but ſubmiſſion to the Divine Providence. Conſider, now, that the perſon who died thus had been an emperor for thirty two years, and then ſay if you ought to inſult his memory?

If we view him as an emperor, we find him refuſing the title of *dominus*, to which Conſtantine aſpired; relieving his ſubjects, diminiſhing the taxes, encouraging the arts, reducing from ſeventy ounces to three or four hundred marks thoſe crowns of gold, which his predeceſſors exacted from all the towns, enforcing the execution of the laws, keeping his officers and miniſters to their duty, and preventing all kinds of bribery and corruption.

Ten chriſtian ſoldiers conſpire his death: they are diſcovered, and Julian forgives them. The people of Antioch, equally inſolent and effeminate, inſult him: he puniſhes them with his uſual greatneſs of ſoul; and, capable as he was of making them feel the whole weight of imperial power, he only makes them ſenſible of the

ſuperiority

ſuperiority of his genius. Compare with this the puniſhments which Theodoſius (now almoſt ſainted) inflicts at Antioch: all the citizens of Theſſalonica butchered, on an occaſion of much the ſame nature; and then ſay, which of the two men you think the moſt virtuous.

Gregory of Nazianzene, and Theodoret, ſeem to conſider it as their duty to blacken the character of this prince, becauſe he abandoned the chriſtian religion; never remembering that one of the moſt glorious triumphs of this religion was to withſtand the efforts of a great and wiſe man, after having reſiſted ſo many tyrants. One of theſe authors ſays, that he filled Antioch with blood, from a ſpirit of cruel revenge. How could a fact ſo notorious eſcape the obſervation of all other hiſtorians? On the contrary, it is well known that he ſhed no blood at Antioch, but the blood of victims. The other has the impudence to affirm, that when he was juſt expiring, he threw his blood againſt heaven, and exclaimed, "Thou haſt conquered, O Galilean!" How, in the name of wonder, could ſuch a ridiculous ſtory ever gain credit? Or is ſuch an action, and ſuch words, conſiſtent with the reſt of his character?

But perhaps it may be aſked, by men of more ſenſe than theſe defamers of Julian, how it was poſſible for a ſtateſman, a genius, and a true philoſopher, as Julian confeſſedly was, to abandon Chriſtianity, in which he had been educated, in favour of the heathen religion, to the abſurd and ridiculous nature of which he could not be a ſtranger? If Julian, ſay they, liſtened too much to his reaſon in examining the myſteries of Chriſtianity, he ought, one would think, to have liſtened ſtill more to that reaſon in examining the fables of the heathens.

Perhaps, by tracing him through the courſe of his life, and obſerving his character with greater attention, we ſhall be able to diſcover the true cauſe of that ſtrong averſion he had to Chriſtianity. Conſtantine, his grand-uncle, the firſt emperor that embraced the new religion, had

had embrued his hands in the blood of his wife, his ſon, his brother-in-law, his nephew, and his father-in-law. Conſtantine's three ſons began their bloody reign by butchering their uncle and their couſins. From that time nothing was to be ſeen but murders and civil wars. Julian's father and eldeſt brother, all his relations, and even himſelf, though a child, were condemned to death by his uncle Conſtantius. Happily, he eſcaped the general maſſacre. His firſt years were paſt in exile; and at laſt he owed the preſervation of his life, his fortune, and the title of Cæſar, to the good offices of the empreſs Euſebia, wife to his uncle Conſtantius, who, after having had the cruelty to baniſh him in his infancy, had now the imprudence to make him a Cæſar, and afterwards the ſtill greater imprudence to provoke him by perſecution.

He was an eye-witneſs of the intolerable inſolence with which a biſhop behaved to Euſebia, his benefactreſs. This was one Leontius, biſhop of Tripoly. He ſent the empreſs word, "that he would not pay her a viſit, unleſs ſhe would promiſe to receive him in a manner ſuitable to his epiſcopal character; to wit, that ſhe ſhould meet him at the door, incline her body, in order to receive his benediction, and preſume not to ſit down till he ſhould give her leave." The heathen prieſts behaved to the empreſſes in a very different manner. This pride, ſo oppoſite to the true ſpirit of Chriſtianity, could not fail to make a deep impreſſion on the mind of a young man, already in love with philoſophy and ſimplicity of manners.

He found himſelf, it is true, in a chriſtian family; but it was a family noted for parricide. He ſaw biſhops at court; but theſe biſhops were haughty and inſolent, artful and cunning, and perpetually anathematizing one another. The two ſects of Arius and Athanaſius filled the empire with bloodſhed and confuſion; whereas the heathens, on the other hand, had no religious controverſies. We may therefore naturally ſuppoſe, that Julian, educated as he was by heathen philoſophers, and daily accuſtomed to hear their lectures, was thereby the more

more confirmed in that unhappy averſion to Chriſtianity, with which the abuſe of it had at firſt inſpired him. Politicians were no more ſurpriſed to ſee Julian forſake the chriſtian for the heathen religion, than to ſee Conſtantine abandon Paganiſm for Chriſtianity. It is probable, that both of them changed for reaſons of ſtate, and that theſe reaſons concurred with ſtoical pride in determining the mind of Julian. The heathen religion had no dogmas: it demanded nothing but ſacrifices; nor did it even require theſe under very ſevere penalties, the prieſts not daring to form a religious government in the heart of the civil. Theſe and the like motives, might eaſily induce a man of Julian's character to take a ſtep, which, in other reſpects, is ſo unjuſtifiable. He wanted a party: had he piqued himſelf merely on his ſtoical character, he would have had the prieſts and falſe zealots of both religions to oppoſe him The people would never have allowed a prince to confine himſelf to the ſole adoration of a pure Being, and to the practice of juſtice. He was, therefore, obliged to pitch upon one of theſe contending parties; and Julian probably ſubmitted to the pagan ceremonies with no more ſincerity than moſt princes and great men go to places of public worſhip, to which they are led by the people, and frequently forced to appear what they are not. The Turkiſh Sultan muſt bleſs Omar; the Perſian Sophi muſt bleſs Ali; and Marcus Aurelius himſelf was initiated in the Eleuſinian myſteries.

We ought not, therefore, to be ſurpriſed that Julian degraded his reaſon ſo far as to condeſcend to the obſervance of ſuperſtitious rites; but we cannot help being filled with the higheſt indignation at Theodoret, the only author who ſays that he ſacrificed a woman in the temple of the Moon at Carres. This infamous ſtory deſerves to be ranked in the ſame catalogue with that abſurd fiction of Ammianus, who ſays that the genius of the empire appeared to Julian before his death; and with that no leſs ridiculous falſhood, that when Julian attempted to rebuild the temple of Jeruſalem,

ſalem, globes of fire iſſued from the earth, and deſtroyed the works and workmen.

Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra.

The Chriſtians and Pagans have been equally induſtrious in inventing and propagating ſtories about Julian; with this only difference, that the ſtories of the Chriſtians are all defamatory. Can any one believe, that a philoſopher could ſacrifice a woman to the moon, and tear out her entrails with his own hands? Can ſuch brutality dwell in the mind of a rigid Stoic?

Julian never put one Chriſtian to death. It is true, he granted them no favours; but neither did he perſecute them *. As a juſt emperor, he left them to enjoy their eſtates; and as a philoſopher, he wrote againſt them. He forbade them to teach in their ſchools the works of profane authors, which they endeavoured to decry; but ſurely this was not perſecution. He allowed them the free exerciſe of their religion, and hindered them from deſtroying one another by their bloody quarrels. This was rather to be their protector. They ought, therefore, to load him with no other reproach than that of abandoning their religion, and of deceiving and hurting himſelf: and yet they have found means to render execrable to all poſterity a prince, whoſe name, but for his change of religion, the only blemiſh in his character, would have been dear to mankind.

* Notwithſtanding this elegant apology, Julian will be ſtill conſidered as a perſecutor of the Chriſtians, againſt whom he exerciſed acts of cruelty and injuſtice on many occaſions.

MICROMEGAS:

A

COMIC ROMANCE.

BEING

A SEVERE SATIRE

UPON THE

PHILOSOPHY, IGNORANCE, AND SELF-CONCEIT OF MANKIND.

MICROMEGAS*.

CHAP. I.

A Voyage to the Planet SATURN, by an Inhabitant of the Star SIRIUS.

IN one of the planets that revolve round the ſtar known by the name of Sirius, was a certain young gentleman of promiſing parts, whom I had the honour to be acquainted with, in his laſt voyage to this our little ant-hill. His name was Micromegas, an appellation admirably ſuited to all great men, and his ſtature amounted to eight leagues in height, that is, four and twenty thouſand geometrical paces, five feet in each.

Some of your mathematicians, a ſet of people always uſeful to the public, will, perhaps, inſtantly ſeize the pen, and calculate, that Mr. Microgemas, inhabitant of the country of Sirius, being from head to foot, four and twenty thouſand paces in length, making one hundred and twenty thouſand royal feet; that we denizens of this earth being, at a medium, little more than five feet high, and our globe nine thouſand leagues in circumference; theſe things being premiſed,

* A name compounded of two Greek words, ſignifying *little* and *great*. The intelligent reader will eaſily perceive that this piece is intended as a ſatire upon the pride and inſignificance of philoſophers; and that the author had Gulliver's Travels in his eye.

I ſay, they will conclude, that the periphery of the globe which produced him, muſt be exactly one and twenty millions ſix hundred thouſand times greater than that of this our tiny-ball. Nothing in nature is more ſimple and common. The dominions of ſome ſovereigns of Germany or Italy, which may be compaſſed in half an hour, when compared with the empires of Ottoman, Muſcovy, or China, are no other than faint inſtances of the prodigious difference which nature hath made in the ſcale of beings. The ſtature of his excellency being of theſe extraordinary dimenſions, all our painters and ſtatuaries will eaſily agree, that the round of his belly might amount to fifty thouſand royal feet: a very agreeable and juſt proportion.

His noſe being equal in length to one third of his face, and his jolly countenance engroſſing one ſeventh part of his height, it muſt be owned that the noſe of this ſame Sirian, was ſix thouſand three hundred and thirty-three royal feet to a hair, which was to be demonſtrated —With regard to his underſtanding, it is one of the beſt cultivated I have known; he is perfectly well acquainted with abundance of things, ſome of which are of his own invention: for, when his age did not exceed two hundred and fifty years, he, according to the cuſtom of his country, ſtudied at the moſt celebrated univerſity of the whole planet, and by the force of his genius, found out upwards of fifty propoſitions of Euclid, having the advantage by more than eighteen, of Blaiſe Paſchal, who, (as we are told by his own ſiſter) demonſtrated two and thirty for his amuſement, and then left off, chooſing rather to be an indifferent philoſopher, than a great mathematician *.———About the four hundred and fiftieth year of his age, or latter end of his childhood, he

* Our author is here too ſevere on the famous Paſchal, whoſe Provincial Letters have been univerſally admired, and tranſlated into many different languages. His genius for mathematics was altogether ſurpriſing. Though his father carefully interdicted him from reading books of this ſcience, he, at the age of twelve, had, by

he diſſected a great number of ſmall inſects not more than one hundred feet in diameter, which are not perceiveable by ordinary microſcopes, of which he compoſed a very curious treatiſe, which involved him in ſome trouble: the mufti of the nation, though very old and very ignorant, made ſhift to diſcover in his book certain lemmas that were ſuſpicious, unſeemly, raſh, heretic and unſound; and proſecuted him with great animoſity; for, the ſubject of the author's inquiry was, whether in the world of Sirius, there was any difference between the ſubſtantial forms of a flea and a ſnail.

Micromegas defended his philoſophy with ſuch ſpirit as made all the female ſex his proſelytes; and the proceſs laſted two hundred and twenty years, at the end of which, in conſequence of the mufti's intereſt, the book was condemned by judges who had never read it, and the author expelled from court, for the term of eight hundred years.

Not much afflicted at his baniſhment from a court that teemed with nothing but turmoils and trifles, he made a very humorous ſong upon the mufti, who gave himſelf no trouble about the matter, and ſet out on his travels from planet to planet, in order (as the ſaying is) to improve his mind and finiſh his education. Thoſe who never travel but in a poſt-chaiſe or berlin, will, doubtleſs, be aſtoniſhed at the equipages uſed above; for we that ſtrut upon this

by the force of his natural talents, diſcovered and demonſtrated thirty one propoſitions in the firſt book of Euclid. At the age of ſixteen, he compoſed a treatiſe on conic ſections. At nineteen, he invented a curious machine for the purpoſes of arithmetical calculation. At twenty-three, he made ſome improvements in mechanics, and was the firſt, who, by repeated experiments, clearly demonſtrated that the effects hitherto aſcribed to nature's horror of a vacuum, were produced from the preſſure of the circumambient air. It is not to be doubted, but that he would have made much more conſiderable progreſs in mathematics and natural philoſophy, had he not been perſuaded about this time or I ſay by his ſiſter, who was a nun, to retire from the world, and dedicate his ſtudies to the intereſts of religion.

little mole-hill, are at a loſs to conceive any thing that ſurpaſſes our own cuſtoms. But our traveller was a wonderful adept in the laws of gravitation, together with the whole force of attraction and repulſion; and made ſuch ſeaſonable uſe of his knowledge, that ſometimes, by the help of a ſun-beam*, and ſometimes by the convenience of a comet, he and his retinue glided from ſphere to ſphere, as a bird hops from one bough to another. He in a very little time, poſted through the milky way, and I am obliged to own, he ſaw not a twinkle of thoſe ſtars ſuppoſed to adorn that fair empyrean, which the illuſtrious doctor Derham brags to have obſerved through his teleſcope. Not that I pretend to ſay the doctor was miſtaken. God forbid! but Micromegas was upon the ſpot, an exceeding good obſerver, and I have no mind to contradict any man. Be that as it will, after many windings and turnings, he arrived at the planet Saturn: and accuſtomed as he was to the ſight of novelties, he could not for his life repreſs that ſupercilious and conceited ſmile which often eſcapes the wiſeſt philoſopher, when he perceived the ſmallneſs of that globe, and the diminutive ſize of its inhabitants: for really Saturn is but about nine hundred times larger than this our earth, and the people of that country meer dwarfs, about a thouſand fathoms high. In ſhort, he at firſt derided thoſe poor pigmies, juſt as an Italian fidler laughs at the muſic of Lully, at his firſt arrival in Paris; but as this Sirian was a perſon of good ſenſe, he ſoon perceived that a thinking being may not be altogether ridiculous, even though he is not quite ſix thouſand feet high; and therefore he became familiar with them, after they had ceaſed to wonder at his extraordinary appearance. In particular, he contracted an intimate friendſhip with the ſecretary of the academy of Saturn, a man of good underſtanding, who, though in truth he had

* Surely our author might have found a more adequate conveyance. There is a ſort of vraiſemblance or probability to be obſerved even in the moſt extravagant fiction, and this is monſtrouſly violated by repreſenting ſuch an enormous maſs of matter with a necklace of diamonds, the leaſt of which was 160 feet in diameter, riding on a ſun-beam.

had invented nothing of his own, gave a very good account of the inventions of others, and enjoyed in peace the reputation of a little poet and great calculator*. And here, for the edification of the reader, I will repeat a very ſingular converſation that one day paſſed between Mr. ſecretary and Micromegas.

CHAP. II.

The Converſation between MICROMEGAS and the inhabitant of SATURN.

HIS excellency having laid himſelf down, and the ſecretary approached his noſe, "It muſt be confeſſed," ſaid Micromegas, "that nature is full of variety."—"Yes," replied the Saturnian, "nature is like a parterre whoſe flowers—" "Pſhaw!" cried the other, "a truce with your parterres."—"It is," reſumed the ſecretary, "like an aſſembly of fair and brown women whoſe dreſſes—" "What a plague have I to do with your brunettes?" ſaid our traveller. "Then it is like a gallery of pictures, the ſtrokes of which—" "Not at all," anſwered Micromegas, "I tell you once for all, nature is like nature, and compariſons are odious." "Well, to pleaſe you," ſaid the ſecretary—"I won't be pleaſed," replied the Sirian, "I want to be inſtructed: begin therefore, without further preamble, and tell me how many ſenſes the people of this world enjoy"—"We have ſeventy and two," ſaid the academician, "but, we are daily complaining of the ſmall number; as our imagination tranſcends our wants; for, with theſe ſeventy-two ſenſes, our five moons and ring, we find ourſelves very much reſtricted; and notwithſtanding our curioſity, and the no ſmall number of thoſe paſſions that reſult from theſe few ſenſes, we have ſtill time enough to be tired of idleneſs." "I ſincerely believe

* Here our author is ſuppoſed to glance at the learned Maupertuis, whom the king of Pruſſia placed at the head of his academy at Berlin.

what you ſay," cried Micromegas, " for, though we Sirians have near a thouſand different ſenſes, there ſtill remains a certain vague deſire, an unaccountable inquietude inceſſantly advertiſing us of our own unimportance, and giving us to underſtand, that there are other beings who are much our ſuperiors in point of perfection. I have travelled a little, and ſeen mortals both above and below myſelf in the ſcale of being: but, I have met with none who had not more deſire than neceſſity, and more want than gratification; perhaps, I ſhall one day arrive in ſome country, where nought is wanting; but, hitherto I have had no certain information of ſuch an happy land." The Saturnian and his gueſt exhauſted themſelves in conjectures upon this ſubject, and after abundance of argumentation equally ingenious and uncertain, being fain to return to matter of fact, " To what age do you commonly live?" ſaid the Sirian. " Lack-a-day! a meer trifle," replied the little gentleman. " It is the very ſame caſe with us," reſumed the other, " the ſhortneſs of life is our daily complaint, ſo that this muſt be an univerſal law in nature." " Alas!" cried the Saturnian, " few, very few on this globe, outlive five hundred great revolutions of the ſun: (theſe, according to our way of reckoning, amount to about fifteen thouſand years.) So, you ſee, we in a manner begin to die the very moment we are born: our exiſtence is no more than a point, our duration an inſtant, and our globe an atom. Scarce do we begin to learn a little, when death intervenes, before we can profit by experience: for my own part, I am deterred from laying ſchemes, when I conſider myſelf as a ſingle drop in the midſt of an immenſe ocean. I am particularly aſhamed in your preſence, of the ridiculous figure I make among my fellow-creatures."

To this declaration, Micromegas replied, " If you were not a philoſopher, I ſhould be afraid of mortifying your pride, by telling you that the term of our lives, is ſeven hundred times longer than the date of your exiſtence: but, you are very ſenſible, that when the texture of the body is reſolved, in order to re-animate

nature

nature in another form, which is the conſequence of what we call death: when that moment of change arrives, there is not the leaſt difference betwixt having lived a whole eternity, or a ſingle day. I have been in ſome countries where the people live a thouſand times longer than with us, and yet they murmured at the ſhortneſs of their time: but one will find every where, ſome few perſons of good ſenſe, who know how to make the beſt of their portion, and thank the author of nature for his bounty. There is a profuſion of variety ſcattered through the univerſe, and yet there is an admirable vein of uniformity that runs thro' the whole: for example, all thinking beings are different among themſelves, though at bottom they reſemble one another, in the powers and paſſions of the ſoul; matter, though interminable, hath different properties in every ſphere. How many principal attributes do you reckon in the matter of this world?" "If you mean thoſe properties," ſaid the Saturnian, "without which we believe this our globe could not ſubſiſt, we reckon in all three hundred, ſuch as extent, impenetrability, motion, gravitation, diviſibility, et cætera."—"That ſmall number," replied the traveller, "probably anſwers the views of the creator, on this your narrow ſphere. I adore his wiſdom in all his works. I ſee infinite variety, but every where in proportion. Your globe is ſmall; ſo are the inhabitants: you have few ſenſations; becauſe your matter is endued with few properties: theſe are the works of unerring providence. Of what colour does your ſun appear when accurately examined?" "Of a yellowiſh white," anſwered the Saturnian; "and in ſeparating one of his rays, we find it contains ſeven colours." "Our ſun," ſaith the Sirian, "is of a reddiſh hue, and we have no leſs than thirty-nine original colours. Among all the ſuns I have ſeen, there is no ſort of reſemblance; and in this ſphere of yours there is not one face like another."

After divers queſtions of this nature, he aſked how many ſubſtances eſſentially different, they counted in the world of Saturn? and underſtood that they numbered but thirty; ſuch as God, ſpace, matter, beings

endued with ſenſe and extenſion, beings that have extenſion, ſenſe, and reflection, thinking beings who have no extenſion, thoſe that are penetrable, thoſe that are impenetrable, and the reſt. But this Saturnian philoſopher was prodigiouſly aſtoniſhed, when the Sirian told him, they had no leſs than three hundred, and that he himſelf had diſcovered three thouſand more in the courſe of his travels. In ſhort, after having communicated to each other what they knew, and even what they did not know, and argued during a complete revolution of the ſun, they reſolved to ſet out together on a ſmall philoſophical tour.

CHAP. III.

The Voyage of thoſe Two INHABITANTS of the other World.

OUR two philoſophers were juſt ready to embark for the atmoſphere of Saturn, with a jolly proviſion of mathematical inſtruments, when the Saturnian's miſtreſs, having got an inkling of their deſign, came all in tears, to make her remonſtrances. She was a little handſome brunette, not above ſix hundred and threeſcore fathom high; but her agreeable attractions made amends for the ſmallneſs of her ſtature. "Ah! cruel man," cried ſhe, "after a reſiſtance of fifteen hundred years, when at length I ſurrendered, and ſcarce have paſſed two hundred more in thy embraces, to leave me thus, before the honey moon is over, and go a rambling with a giant of another world! go, go, thou art a mere virtuoſo devoid of tenderneſs and love! if thou wert a true Saturnian, thou wouldſt be faithful and invariable. Ah! whither art thou going? what is thy deſign? our five moons are not ſo inconſtant, nor our ring ſo changeable as thou! but take this along with you, henceforth I ne'er ſhall love another man." The little gentleman embraced and wept over her, notwithſtanding his philoſophy; and the lady, after having ſwooned with great decency,

decency, went to conſole herſelf with the converſation of a certain beau.

Mean while, our two virtuoſi ſet out, and at one jump leaped upon the ring, which they found pretty flat, according to the ingenious gueſs of an illuſtrious inhabitant of this our little earth: from thence they eaſily ſlipped from moon to moon; and a comet chancing to paſs by, they ſprung upon it with all their ſervants and apparatus. Thus carried about one hundred and fifty millions of leagues, they met with the ſatellites of Jupiter, and arrived upon the body of the planet itſelf, where they continued a whole year; during which, they learned ſome very curious ſecrets, which would actually be ſent to the preſs, were it not for fear of the gentlemen inquiſitors, who have found among them ſome corollaries very hard of digeſtion. Nevertheleſs, I have read the manuſcript in the library of the illuſtrious archbiſhop of . . . . . who has granted me permiſſion to peruſe his books with that generoſity and goodneſs, which can never be enough commended: wherefore, I promiſe he ſhall have a long article in the next edition of Moreri, where I ſhall not forget the young gentlemen his ſons, who give us ſuch pleaſing hopes of ſeeing perpetuated the race of their illuſtrious father. But to return to our travellers. When they took leave of Jupiter, they traverſed a ſpace of about one hundred millions of leagues, and coaſting along the planet Mars, which is well known to be five times ſmaller than our little earth, they deſcribed two moons ſubſervient to that orb, which have eſcaped the obſervation of all our aſtronomers. I know father Caſtel will write, and that pleaſantly enough, againſt the exiſtence of theſe two moons; but I entirely refer myſelf to thoſe who reaſon by analogy; thoſe worthy philoſophers are very ſenſible, that Mars, which is at ſuch a diſtance from the ſun, muſt be in a very uncomfortable ſituation, without the benefit of a couple of moons: be that as it may, our gentlemen found the planet ſo ſmall, that they were afraid they ſhould not find room to take a little repoſe; ſo that they purſued their journey like two travellers who deſpiſe the paultry accommoda-

tion of a village, and puſh forward to the next market town. But the Sirian and his companion ſoon repented of their delicacy; for, they journeyed a long time, without finding a reſting place, till at length they diſcerned a ſmall ſpeck, which was Earth. Coming from Jupiter, they could not but be moved with compaſſion at the ſight of this miſerable ſpot, upon which, however, they reſolved to land, leſt they ſhould be a ſecond time diſappointed. They accordingly moved towards the tail of the comet, where finding an Aurora Borealis ready to ſet ſail, they embarked, and arrived on the northern coaſt of the Baltic, on the fifth day of July, new ſtile, in the year 1737.

CHAP. IV.

What befel them upon this our GLOBE.

HAVING taken ſome repoſe, and being deſirous of reconnoitering the narrow field in which they were, they traverſed it at once from north to ſouth; every ſtep of the Sirian and his attendants, meaſuring about thirty thouſand royal feet; whereas, the dwarf of Saturn, whoſe ſtature did not exceed a thouſand fathoms, followed at a diſtance quite out of breath; becauſe, for every ſingle ſtride of his companion, he was obliged to make twelve good ſteps at leaſt. The reader may figure to himſelf (if we are allowed to make ſuch compariſons) a very little rough ſpaniel dodging after a captain of the Pruſſian grenadiers.

As thoſe ſtrangers walked at a good pace, they compaſſed the globe in ſix and thirty hours; the ſun, it is true, or rather the earth, deſcribes the ſame ſpace in the courſe of one day; but, it muſt be obſerved, that it is much more eaſy to turn upon an axis, than to walk a foot. Behold them then returned to the ſpot from whence they had ſet out, after having diſcovered that almoſt imperceptible ſea, which is called the Mediterranean; and the other narrow pond that ſurrounds this mole hill, under the denomination of the great ocean;

ocean; in wading through which, the dwarf had never wet his mid-leg, while the other ſcarce moiſtened his heel. In going and coming through both hemiſpheres, they did all that lay in their power to diſcover whether or not the globe was inhabited. They ſtooped, they lay down, they groped in every corner; but their eyes and hands were not at all proportioned to the ſmall beings that crawl upon this earth; and, therefore, they could not find the ſmalleſt reaſon to ſuſpect that we and our fellow citizens of this globe had the honour to exiſt.

The dwarf, who ſometimes judged too haſtily, concluded at once, that there was no living creature upon earth; and his chief reaſon was, that he had ſeen nobody. But, Micromegas, in a polite manner, made him ſenſible of the unjuſt concluſion; "For, (ſaid he,) with your diminutive eyes, you cannot ſee certain ſtars of the fiftieth magnitude, which I diſtinctly perceive: and do you take it for granted that no ſuch ſtars exiſt?" "But, I have groped with great care," replied the dwarf. "Then your ſenſe of feeling muſt be bad," reſumed the other. "But this globe, (ſaid the dwarf) is ill contrived, and ſo irregular in its form, as to be quite ridiculous. The whole together looks like a chaos. Do but obſerve theſe little rivulets; not one of them runs in a ſtrait line: and theſe ponds which are neither round, ſquare nor oval, nor indeed of any regular figure; together with thoſe little ſharp pebbles (meaning the mountains) that roughen the whole ſurface of the globe, and have torn all the ſkin from my feet. Beſides, pray take notice of the ſhape of the whole, how it flattens at the poles, and turns round the ſun in an aukward oblique manner, ſo as that the polar circles cannot poſſibly be cultivated. Truly, what makes me believe there is no inhabitant on this ſphere, is a full perſuaſion, that no ſenſible being would live in ſuch a diſagreeable place." "What then? (ſaid Micromegas) perhaps the beings that inhabit it come not under that denomination; but, in all appearance, it was not made for nothing. Every thing

thing here ſeems to you irregular; becauſe, you fetch all your compariſons from Jupiter or Saturn. Perhaps this is the very reaſon for the ſeeming confuſion which you condemn; have I not told you that in the courſe of my travels, I have always met with variety?" The Saturnian replied to all theſe arguments, and perhaps the diſpute would have known no end, if Micromegas in the heat of the conteſt had not luckily broke the ſtring of his diamond neck lace; ſo that the jewels fell to the ground, conſiſting of pretty ſmall unequal karats, the largeſt of which weighed four hundred pounds, and the ſmalleſt fifty*. The dwarf, in helping to pick them up, perceived, as they approached his eye, that every ſingle diamond was cut in ſuch a manner as to anſwer the purpoſe of an excellent microſcope. He therefore took up a ſmall one, about one hundred and ſixty feet in diameter, and applied it to his eye; while Micromegas choſe another of two thouſand five hundred, though they were of excellent powers, the obſervers could perceive nothing by their aſſiſtance, ſo that they were altered and adjuſted: at length the inhabitant of Saturn diſcerned ſomething almoſt imperceptible, moving between two waves in the Baltic: this was no other than a whale, which, in a dextrous manner, he caught with his little finger, and placing it on the nail of his thumb, ſhewed it to the Syrian, who laughed heartily at the exceſſive ſmallneſs peculiar to the inhabitants of this our globe. The Saturnian, by this time convinced that our world was inhabited, began to imagine we had no other animals than whales; and being a mighty arguer, he forthwith ſet about inveſtigating the origin and motion of this ſmall atom, curious to know whether or not it was furniſhed with ideas, judgment, and free will. Micromegas was very much perplexed upon this ſubject; he examined the animal with the moſt patient attention and the reſult of his enquiry was, that he could ſee no reaſon to believe a ſoul

* If the largeſt weighed 400 pounds, and one of the ſmalleſt amounted to 160 feet in diameter, what muſt have been the denſity of the matter which compoſed theſe diamonds?

ſoul was lodged in ſuch a body. The two travellers were actually inclined to think there was no ſuch thing as mind, in this our habitation, when by the help of their microſcope, they perceived ſomething as large as a whale, floating upon the ſurface of the ſea. It is well known, that at this period, a flight of philoſophers were upon their return from the polar circle, where they had been making obſervations, for which nobody has hitherto been the wiſer*. The gazettes record, thet their veſſel ran aſhore on the coaſt of Boſnia, and that they with great difficulty, ſaved their lives; but, in this world one can never dive to the bottom of things: for my own part, I will ingenuouſly recount the tranſlation juſt as it happened, without any addition of my own; and this is no ſmall effort in a modern hiſtorian.

CHAP. V.

MICROMEGAS ſtretched out his hand gently towards the place where the object appeared, and advanced two fingers, which he inſtantly pulled back, for fear of being diſappointed, then opening ſoftly and ſhutting them all at once, he very dexterouſly ſeized the ſhip that contained thoſe gentlemen, and placed it on his nail, avoiding too much preſſure, which might have

* Caſſini, who had meaſured a degree of the meridian in France, and publiſhed in 1718 his book upon the ſize and figure of the earth, in which he concludes it is lengthened at the poles, in contradiction to the theory of Newton and Huygens; the French king ordered a company of academicians to meaſure a degree of the equator, and another to take the dimenſions of a degree at the polar circle, in order to determine this diſpute. Meſſ. Goden, Bouguer, and de la Condamine, were ſent to Peru; while Maupertuis, Clairaut, Camus, Monnier, and Onthier ſet out for Lapland. The obſervations of both companies, reinforced by thoſe of Don Jorge Juan, and Antonio d'Ulloa, two Spaniſh philoſophers employed by his catholic majeſty, confirmed the theory of Sir Iſaac Newton, that the earth was an oblate ſpheroid, flattened at the poles. A curious account of the voyage to Lapland, and of the obſervations there made, is to be found in the works of Maupertuis, publiſhed at Lyons in the year 1756.

have crushed the whole in pieces. "This," said the Saturnian dwarf, "is a creature very different from the former:" upon which, the Sirian placing the supposed animal in the hollow of his hand, the passengers and crew, who believed themselves thrown by a hurricane upon some rock, began to put themselves in motion. The sailors having hoisted out some casks of wine, jumped after them into the hand of Micromegas: the mathematicians having secured their quadrants, sectors, and Lapland mistresses, went over-board at a different place, and made such a bustle in their descent, that the Sirian, at length, felt his fingers tickled by something that seemed to move. An iron crow chanced to penetrate about a foot deep into his four finger; and from this prick he concluded, that something had issued from the little animal he held in his hand; but at first he suspected nothing more: for, the microscope that scarce rendered a whale and a ship visible, had no effect upon an object so imperceptible as man.—I do not intend to shock the vanity of any person whatever; but here I am obliged to beg your people of importance, to consider, that supposing the stature of a man to be about five feet, we mortals make just such a figure upon the earth, as an animal the sixty thousandth part of a foot in height, would exhibit upon a bowl ten feet in circumference. When you reflect upon a being who could hold this whole earth in the palm of his hand, and is endued with organs proportioned with those we possess, you will easily conceive, that there must be a great variety of created substances,——and pray, what must such beings think of those battles by which a conqueror gains a small village, to lose it again in the sequel? I do not at all doubt, but if some captain of grenadiers should chance to read this work, he would add two large feet at least to the caps of his company; but, I assure him his labour will be in vain; for, do what he will, he and his soldiers will never be other than infinitely diminutive and inconsiderable. What wonderful address must have been inherent in our Sirian philosopher, that enabled him to perceive those atoms

of

of which we have been ſpeaking. When Leuwenhoek and Hartſoeker obſerved the firſt rudiments of which we are formed, they did not make ſuch an aſtoniſhing diſcovery. What pleaſure, therefore, was the portion of Micromegas, in obſerving the motion of thoſe little machines, in examining all their pranks, and in purſuing them in all their operations! with what joy did he put his microſcope into his companion's hand: and with what tranſport did they both at once, exclaim, "I ſee them diſtinctly,—don't you perceive them carrying burthens, lying down and riſing up again?" So ſaying, their hands ſhook with eagerneſs to ſee, and apprehenſion to loſe ſuch uncommon objects.—The Saturnian making a ſudden tranſition, from the moſt cautious diſtruſt, to the moſt exceſſive credulity, imagined he ſaw them in the very work of propagation, and cried aloud, "I have ſurprized nature in the very fact." Nevertheleſs, he was deceived by appearances: a cauſe too common, whether we do or not make uſe of microſcropes.

CHAP. VI.

What happened in their intercourſe with Men.

MICROMEGAS being a much better obſerver than his dwarf, perceived diſtinctly that thoſe atoms ſpoke; and made the remark to his companion, who was ſo much aſhamed of being miſtaken in the article of generation, that he would not believe ſuch a puny ſpecies could poſſibly communicate their ideas: for, though he had the gift of tongues, as well as his companion, he could not hear thoſe particles ſpeak; and therefore ſuppoſed they had no language: beſides, how ſhould ſuch imperceptible beings have the organs of ſpeech? and what in the name of God can they ſay to one another? in order to ſpeak, they muſt have ſomething like thought, and if they think, they muſt ſurely have ſomething equivalent to a ſoul: now,

to

to attribute any thing like a ſoul to ſuch an inſect ſpecies, appears a meer abſurdity.——" But juſt now," replied the Sirian, " you believed they made love to each other; and do you think this could be done without thinking, without uſing ſome ſort of language, or at leaſt, ſome way of making themſelves underſtood? or do you ſuppoſe it more difficult to advance an argument than to produce a child? for my own part, I look upon both theſe faculties as a-like myſterious." " I will no longer venture to believe or deny," anſwered the dwarf: " in ſhort I have no opinion at all. Let us endeavour to examine theſe inſects, and we will reaſon upon them afterwards.——" " With all my heart," ſaid Micromegas, who taking out a pair of ſciſſars, which he kept for paring his nails, cut off a paring from his thumb-nail, of which he immediately formed a large kind of ſpeaking trumpet, like a vaſt tunnel, and clapped the pipe to his ear*: as the circumference of this machine included the ſhip and all the crew, the moſt feeble voice was conveyed along the circular fibres of the nail; ſo that, thanks to his induſtry, the philoſopher could diſtinctly hear the buzzing of our inſects that were below; in a few hours he diſtinguiſhed articulate ſounds, and, at laſt, plainly underſtood the French language. The dwarf heard the ſame, though with more difficulty.

The aſtoniſhment of our travellers increaſed every inſtant. They heard a neſt of mites talk in a pretty ſenſible ſtrain: and that Luſus Naturæ ſeemed to them inexplicable. You need not doubt but the Sirian and his dwarf glowed with impatience to enter into converſation with ſuch atoms. Micromegas being afraid that his voice, like thunder would deafen and confound the mites, without being underſtood by them, ſaw the neceſſity of diminiſhing the ſound: each, therefore, put into his mouth a ſort of a ſmall tooth-pick,

* How a man ſhould make ſuch a funnel of the paring of his own nail, we cannot conceive. It would have anſwered much better, had he ſtuffed all the philoſophers in his ear together.

pick, the ſlender end of which reached to the veſſel. The Sirian ſetting the dwarf upon his knees, and the ſhip and crew upon his nail, held down his head and ſpoke ſoftly.———In fine, having taken theſe and a great many more precautions, he addreſſed himſelf to them in theſe words:

"O ye inviſible inſects, whom the hand of the Creator hath deigned to produce in the abyſs of infinite littleneſs, I give praiſe to his goodneſs, in that he hath been pleaſed to diſcloſe unto me thoſe ſecrets that ſeemed to be impenetrable; perhaps the court of Sirius will not diſdain to behold you with admiration: for my own part, I deſpiſe no creature, and therefore offer you my protection."

If ever there was ſuch a thing as aſtoniſhment, it ſeized upon the people who heard this addreſs, and who could not conceive from whence it proceeded. The chaplain of the ſhip repeated exorciſms, the ſailors ſwore, and the philoſophers formed a ſyſtem: but, notwithſtanding all their ſyſtems, they could not divine who the perſon was that ſpoke to them.——— Then the dwarf of Saturn, whoſe voice was ſofter than that of Micromegas, gave them briefly to underſtand, what ſpecies of beings they had to do with. He related the particulars of their voyage from Saturn, made them acquainted with the rank and quality of monſieur Micromegas; and after having pitied their ſmallneſs, aſked if they had always been in that miſerable ſtate, ſo near a-kin to annihilation; and what their buſineſs was upon that globe which ſeemed to be the property of whales; he alſo deſired to know if they were happy in their ſituation, if they propagated their ſpecies, if they were inſpired with ſouls? and put a hundred queſtions of the like nature.

A certain mathematician on board, more courageous than the reſt, and ſhocked to hear his ſoul called in queſtion, planted his quadrant, and having taken two obſervations of this interlocutor, "You believe then, Mr. what d'ye-callum," ſaid he, "that becauſe you meaſure

measure from head to foot, a thousand fathoms." ——— "A thousand fathoms!" cried the dwarf, "good heaven! how should he know the height of my stature? a thousand fathoms! my very dimensions to an hair. What, measured by a mite! this atom, forsooth, is a geometrician, and knows exactly how tall I am: while I, who can scarce perceive him through a microscope, am utterly ignorant of his extent"! "Yes, I have taken your measure," answered the philosopher, "and I will now do the same by your tall companion." The proposal was embraced; his excellency laid himself among: for, had he stood upright, his head would have reached too far above the clouds. Our mathematicians planted a tall tree in a certain part of him, which doctor Swift would have mentioned without hesitation, but which I forbear to call by its name, out of my inviolable respect for the ladies; then, by a series of triangles joined together, they discovered, that the object of their observation was a strapping youth, exactly one hundred and twenty thousand royal feet in length.

In consequence of this calculation, Micromegas uttered these words: I am now more than ever convinced, that we ought to judge of nothing by its external magnitude. O God! who hast bestowed understanding upon such seemingly contemptible substances, thou canst with equal ease produce that which is infinitely small, as that which is incredibly great: and if it be possible, that among thy works there are beings still more diminutive than these, they may, nevertheless, be endowed with understanding superior to the intelligence of those stupendous animals I have seen in heaven, a single foot of whom is larger than this whole globe on which I have alighted." One of the philosophers bid him be assured, that there were intelligent beings much smaller than man, and recounted not only Virgil's whole fable of the bees, but also described all that Swammerdam hath discovered, and Reaumur dissected. In a word, he informed him, that there are animals which bear the same

ſame proportion to bees, which bees bear to man; the ſame as the Sirian himſelf was to thoſe vaſt beings whom he had mentioned; and as thoſe huge animals were to other ſubſtances, before whom they would appear like ſo many particles of duſt. Here the converſation became very intereſting, and Micromegas proceeded in theſe words.

CHAP. VII.

A converſation that paſſed between our travellers and the men they had encountered.

"O Ye intelligent atoms, in whom the Supreme Being hath been pleaſed to manifeſt his omniſcience and power, without all doubt your joys on this earth muſt be pure and exquiſite: for being unincumbered with matter, and, to all appearance, little elſe than ſoul, you muſt ſpend your lives in the delights of love and reflection, which are the true enjoyments of a perfect ſpirit. True happineſs I have no where found; but, certainly here it dwells." At this harangue, all the philoſophers ſhook their heads, and one among the reſt, more candid than his brethren, frankly owned, that, excepting a very ſmall number of inhabitants, who were very little eſteemed by their fellows, all the reſt were a parcel of knaves, fools, and miſerable wretches. "We have matter enough," ſaid he, "to do abundance of miſchief; if miſchief comes of matter, and too much underſtanding; if evil flows from underſtanding: you muſt know, for example, that this very moment, while I am ſpeaking, there are one hundred thouſand animals of our own ſpecies, covered with hats, ſlaying an equal number of fellow creatures who wear turbans; at leaſt, they are either ſlaying or ſlain: and this hath been nearly the caſe all over the earth, from time Immemorial." The Sirian ſhuddering at this information, begged to know the cauſe of thoſe horrible quarrels among ſuch a puny race; and was given to underſtand, that the ſubject of the diſpute

was

was ſome pitiful mole-hill no bigger than his heel: not that any one of thoſe millions who cut one another's throats, pretends to have the leaſt claim to the ſmalleſt particle of that clod; the queſtion is to know; whether it ſhall belong to a certain perſon, who is known by the name of Sultan, or to another whom (for what reaſon I know not) they dignify with the appellation of Cæſar. Neither one or t'other has ever ſeen, or ever will ſee the pitiful corner in queſtion, and ſcarce one of thoſe wretches who ſacrifice one another, hath ever beheld the animal on whoſe account they are mutually ſacrificed!

"Ah miſcreants! (cried the indignant Sirian) ſuch exceſs of deſperate rage is beyond conception. I have a good mind to take two or three ſteps, and trample the whole neſt of ſuch ridiculous aſſaſſins under my feet." "Don't give yourſelf the trouble, (replied the philoſopher) they are induſtrious enough in procuring their own deſtruction; at the end of ten years the hundredth part of thoſe wretches will be no more: for, you muſt know, that though they ſhould not draw a ſword in the cauſe they have eſpouſed, famine, fatigue, and intemperance would ſweep almoſt all of them from the face of the earth. Beſides, the puniſhment ſhould not be inflicted upon them, but upon thoſe ſedentary and ſlothful barbarians, who, from their cloſe-ſtools, give orders for murthering a million of men, and then ſolemnly thank God for their ſucceſs."

Our traveller, moved with compaſſion for the little human race, in which he diſcovered ſuch aſtoniſhing contraſts, "Since you are of the ſmall number of the wiſe, (ſaid he) and in all likelihood, do not engage yourſelves in the trade of murder for hire; be ſo good as to tell me what is your occupation?" "We anatomize flies, (replied the philoſopher) we meaſure lines, we make calculations, we agree upon two or three points which we underſtand, and diſpute upon two or three thouſand that are beyond our comprehenſion." Then the ſtrangers being ſeized with the whim of interrogating thoſe thinking atoms, upon the ſubjects

jects about which they were agreed, "How, far (ſaid the Sirian) do you reckon the diſtance between the great ſtar of the conſtellation Gemini, and that called Caniculus?" "To this queſtion all of them anſwered with one voice, "Thirty-two degrees and a half." "And what is the diſtance from hence to the moon?" "Sixty ſemi-diameters of the earth." He then thought to puzzle them by aſking the weight of the air; but they anſwered diſtinctly, that common air is about nine hundred times ſpecifically lighter than an equal column of the lighteſt water, and nineteen hundred times lighter than current gold. The little dwarf of Saturn, aſtoniſhed at their anſwers, was now tempted to believe thoſe very people ſorcerers, whom but a quarter of an hour before, he would not allow to be inſpired with ſouls.

"Well, (ſaid Micromegas) ſince you know ſo well what is without you, doubtleſs you are ſtill more perfectly acquainted with that which is within: tell me what is the ſoul, and how your ideas are framed?" Here the philoſophers ſpoke all together, as before; but each was of a different opinion: the eldeſt quoted Ariſtotle; another pronounced the name of Deſcartes; a third mentioned Mallebranche; a fourth Leibnitz; and a fifth Locke: an old peripatician lifting up his voice, exclaimed with an air of confidence, "The ſoul is perfection and reaſon, having power to be ſuch as it is:" as Ariſtotle expreſsly declares, page 633, of the Louvre edition.

Εντελεχεια τις ἐστι, καὶ λογος τὸ δυνάμιν ἐχοντος τοιοδὶ εἶναι.

"I am not very well verſed in Greek," ſaid the giant: "Nor I neither," replied the philoſophical mite. "Why then do you quote that ſame Ariſtotle in Greek?" reſumed the Syrian: "Becauſe, (anſwered the other) it is but reaſonable we ſhould quote what we do not comprehend, in a language we do not underſtand."

Here the Carteſian interpoſing, "The ſoul (ſaid he) is a pure ſpirit of intelligence, which hath received in the mother's womb all the metaphyſical ideas; but, upon

upon leaving that priſon, is obliged to go to ſchool, and learn a-new that knowledge which it hath loſt, and will never more attain." "So it was neceſſary (replied the animal of eight leagues) that thy ſoul ſhould be learned in thy mother's womb, in order to be ſo ignorant when thou haſt got a beard upon thy chin: but, what doſt thou underſtand by ſpirit?" "To what purpoſe do you aſk me that queſtion? (ſaid the philoſopher) I have no idea of it: indeed it is ſupoſed to be immaterial." "At leaſt, thou knoweſt what matter is?" reſumed the Sirian. "Perfectly well, (anſwered the other.) For example, that ſtone is grey, is of a certain figure, has three dimenſions, ſpecific weight, and diviſibility." "Right, (ſaid the giant) I want to know what that object is, which, according to thy obſervation, hath a grey colour, weight, and diviſibility? Thou ſeeſt a few qualities, but doſt thou know the nature of the thing itſelf?" "Not I truly," anſwered the Carteſian. Upon which the other told him, he did not know what nature was. Then addreſſing himſelf to another ſage who ſtood upon his thumb, he aſked what is the ſoul? and what are her functions? "Nothing at all, (replied this diſciple of Mallebranche) God hath made every thing for my convenience; in him I ſee every thing, by him I act, he is the univerſal agent, and I never meddle in his work." "That is being a non-entity indeed:" ſaid the Sirian ſage, who turning to a follower of Leibnitz, "Hark ye, friend, what is thy opinion of the ſoul?" "In my opinion, (anſwered this metaphyſician) the ſoul is the hand that points at the hour, while my body does the office of a clock; or, if you pleaſe, the ſoul is the clock, and the body is the pointer; or, again, my ſoul is the mirrour of the univerſe, and my body the frame. All this is clear and uncontrovertible."

A little partizan of Locke, who chanced to be preſent, being aſked his opinion on the ſame ſubject, "I do not know (ſaid he) by what power I think: but well I know, that I ſhould never have thought without the aſſiſtance of my ſenſes: that there are immaterial and intelligent

telligent ſubſtances, I do not at all doubt; but that it is impoſſible for God to communicate the faculty of thinking to matter, I doubt very much. I revere the eternal power, to which it would ill become me to preſcribe bounds: I affirm nothing, and am contented to believe, that many more things are poſſible, than are uſually thought ſo." The Sirian ſmiled at this declaration, and did not look upon the author as the leaſt ſagacious of the company: and as for the dwarf of Saturn, he would have embraced this adherent of Locke, had it not been for the extreme diſproportion in their different ſizes. But, unluckily, there was another animalcule in a ſquare cup, who taking the word from all his philoſophical brethren, affirmed, that he knew the whole ſecret, which was contained in the abridgement of St. Thomas: he ſurveyed the two celeſtial ſtrangers from top to toe, and maintained to their faces, that their perſons, their faſhions, their ſuns and their ſtars, were created ſolely for the uſe of man. At this wild aſſertion, our two travellers let themſelves tumble topſy turvy, ſeized with a fit of that inextinguiſhable laughter, which (according to Homer) is the portion of the immortal gods; their bellies quivered; their ſhoulders roſe and fell; and during theſe convulſions, the veſſel fell from the Sirian's nail into the Saturnian's pocket, where theſe worthy people ſearched for it a long time with great diligence. At length, having found the ſhip, and ſet every thing to rights again, the Sirian reſumed the diſcourſe with thoſe diminutive mites, promiſed to compoſe for them a choice book of philoſophy, which would teach them abundance of admirable ſciences, and demonſtrate the very eſſence of things. Accordingly, before his departure, he made them a preſent of the book, which was brought to the academy of ſciences at Paris; but when the old ſecretary came to open it, he ſaw nothing but blank paper, upon which, "Ay, ay, (ſaid he) this is juſt what I ſuſpected."

ZADIG;

ZADIG;

OR,

FATE.

An ORIENTAL HISTORY.

AND,

The WORLD as it Goes,

The Vision of BABOUC.

Written by himself.

APPROBATION.

I The underwritten, who have obtained the character of a learned, and even of an ingenious man, have read this manuſcript, which, in ſpite of myſelf, I have found to be curious, entertaining, moral, philoſophical, and capable of affording pleaſure even to thoſe who hate romances. I have therefore decried it; and have aſſured the Cadi-leſquier that it is an abominable performance.

EPISTLE DEDICATORY

TO THE

SULTANA SHERAA.

BY SADI.

The 18th of the Month SCHEWAL, in the 837th Year of the HEGIRA.

DELIGHT of the eyes, torment of the heart, and light of the mind, I kiſs not the duſt of thy feet, becauſe thou never walkeſt; or walkeſt only on the carpets of Iran, or in paths ſtrewed with roſes. I offer thee the tranſlation of a book, wrote by an ancient ſage; who, having the happineſs to have nothing to do, amuſed himſelf in compoſing the hiſtory of Zadig; a work which performs more than it promiſes. I beſeech thee to read and examine it; for, though thou art in the ſpring of life, and every pleaſure courts thee to its embrace; though thou art beautiful, and thy beauty be embelliſhed by thy admirable talents; tho' thou art praiſed from evening to morning, and, on all theſe accounts, haſt a right to be devoid of common ſenſe; yet thou haſt a ſound judgment, and a fine taſte, and I have heard thee reaſon with more accuracy than the old derviſes, with their long beards and pointed bonnets. Thou art diſcreet, without being diſtruſtful; gentle without weakneſs; and beneficent with diſcernment. Thou loveſt thy friends, and makeſt thyſelf no enemies. Thy wit never borrows its charms from the ſhafts of detraction; thou neither ſayeſt nor doeſt any ill, notwithſtanding that both are ſo much in thy power. In a word, thy ſoul hath always appeared to me to be as pure and unſullied as thy beauty. Beſides, thou haſt ſome little knowledge in philoſophy, which makes me

believe that thou wilt take more pleaſure than others of thy ſex in peruſing the work of this venerable ſage.

It was originally written in the ancient Chaldee, a language which neither thou nor I underſtand. It was afterwards tranſlated into the Arabic, to amuſe the famous ſultan Oulougbeg, much about the time that the Arabians and Perſians began to write the Thouſand and one Nights, the Thouſand and One Days, *&c.* Oulougwas fond of reading Zadig; but the ſultanas were fonder of the Thouſand and One. "How can you prefer (would the wiſe Oulougſay to them) thoſe ſtories which have neither ſenſe nor meaning?" "It is for that very reaſon (replied the ſultanas) that we like them."

I flatter myſelf that thou wilt not reſemble theſe thy predeceſſors; but that thou wilt be a true Oulong. I even hope, that when thou art tired with thoſe general converſations, which differ from the Thouſand and One in nothing but in being leſs agreeable, I ſhall have the honour to entertain thee for a moment with a rational diſcourſe. Hadſt thou been Thaleſtris, in the time of Scander the ſon of Philip; hadſt thou been the queen of Sheba in the time of Solomon, theſe are the very kings that would have paid thee a viſit.

I pray the heavenly powers, that thy pleaſures may be unmixed, thy beauty never fading, and thy happineſs without end.

SADI.

ZADIG.

AN

ORIENTAL HISTORY.

The BLIND of One EYE.

THERE lived at Babylon, in the reign of king Moabdar, a young man, named Zadig, of a good natural diſpoſition, ſtrengthened and improved by education. Tho' rich and young, he had learned to moderate his paſſions: he had nothing ſtiff or affected in his behaviour; he did not pretend to examine every action by the ſtrict rules of reaſon; but was always ready to make proper allowances for the weakneſs of mankind. It was matter of ſurprize, that, notwithſtanding his ſpritely wit, he never expoſed by his raillery thoſe vague, incoherent, and noiſy diſcourſes, thoſe raſh cenſures, ignorant deciſions, coarſe jeſts, and all that empty jingle of words, which, at Babylon, went by the name of converſation. He had learned, in the firſt book of Zoroaſter, that ſelf-love is a foot-ball ſwelled with wind, from which, when pierced, the moſt terrible tempeſts iſſue forth. Above all, Zadig never boaſted of his conqueſts among the women, nor affected to entertain a contemptible opinion of the fair ſex. He was generous; and was never afraid of obliging the ungrateful,

* The reader will at once perceive that this piece is a diverting picture of human life, in which the author has ingeniouſly contrived to ridicule and ſtigmatize the follies and vices that abound in every ſtation.

remembering the grand precept of Zoroaſter; "When thou eateſt, give to the dogs, ſhould they even bite thee." He was as wiſe as it is poſſible for man to be; for he ſought to live with the wiſe. Inſtructed in the ſciences of the ancient Chaldeans, he underſtood the principles of natural philoſophy, ſuch as they were then ſuppoſed to be; and knew as much of metaphyſics as hath ever been known in any age, that is, little or nothing at all. He was firmly perſuaded, notwithſtanding the new philoſophy of the times, that the year conſiſted of three hundred and ſixty-five days and ſix hours, and that the ſun was in the centre of the world. But when the principal magi told him, with a haughty and contemptuous air, that his ſentiments were of a dangerous tendency, and that it was to be an enemy to the ſtate, to believe that the ſun revolved round its own axis, and that the year had twelve months, he held his tongue with great modeſty nnd meekneſs*.

Poſſeſſed as he was of great riches, and conſequently of many friends, bleſſed with a good conſtitution, a handſome figure, a mind juſt and moderate, and a heart noble and ſincere, he fondly imagined that he might eaſily be happy. He was going to be married to Semira, who, in point of beauty, birth, and fortune, was the firſt match in Babylon. He had a real and virtuous affection for this lady, and ſhe loved him with the moſt paſſionate fondneſs. The happy moment was almoſt arrived, that was to unite them for ever in the bands of wedlock, when happening to take a walk together towards one of the gates of Babylon, under the palm-trees that adorn the banks of the Euphrates, they ſaw ſome men approaching, armed with ſabres and arrows. Theſe were the attendants of young Orcan, the miniſter's nephew, whom his uncle's creatures had flattered into an opinion that he might do every thing with impunity. He had none of the graces nor virtues of Zadig; but

* Alluding to the ſtory of Galileo, who was impriſoned in the inquiſition at Rome under pope Urban VIII. for having taught the motion of the earth, and obliged to retract that doctrine.

but thinking himſelf a much more accompliſhed man, he was enraged to find that the other was preferred before him. This jealouſy, which was merely the effect of his vanity, made him imagine that he was deſperately in love with Semira; and accordingly he reſolved to carry her off. The raviſhers ſeized her; in the violence of the outrage they wounded her; and made the blood flow from a perſon, the ſight of which would have ſoftened the tygers of mount Imaus. She pierced the heavens with her complaints. She cried out, "My dear huſband! they tear me from the man I adore." Regardleſs of her own danger, ſhe was only concerned for the fate of her dear Zadig, who, in the mean time, defended himſelf with all the ſtrength that courage and love could inſpire. Aſſiſted only by two ſlaves, he put the raviſhers to flight, and carried home Semira, inſenſible and bloody as ſhe was. On opening her eyes, and beholding her deliverer, "O Zadig, (ſaid ſhe) I loved thee formerly as my intended huſband; I now love thee as the preſerver of my honour and my life." Never was heart more deeply affected than that of Semira. Never did a more charming mouth expreſs more moving ſentiments, in thoſe glowing words inſpired by a ſenſe of the greateſt of all favours, and by the moſt tender tranſports of a lawful paſſion. Her wound was ſlight, and was ſoon cured. Zadig was more dangerouſly wounded; an arrow had pieced him near his eye, and penetrated to a conſiderable depth. Semira wearied heaven with her prayers for the recovery of her lover. Her eyes were conſtantly bathed in tears; ſhe anxiouſly waited the happy moment when thoſe of Zadig ſhould be able to meet hers; but an abſceſs growing on the wounded eye, gave every thing to fear. A meſſenger was immediately diſpatched to Memphis, for the great phyſician Hermes, who came with a numerous retinue. He viſited the patient, and declared that he would loſe his eye. He even foretold the day and hour when this fatal event would happen. "Had it been the right eye, (ſaid he) I could eaſily have cured it; but the wounds of the left eye are incurable." All Babylon la-

mented the fate of Zadig, and admired the profound knowledge of Hermes. In two days the abſceſs broke of its own accord; and Zadig was perfectly cured. Hermes wrote a book to prove that it ought not to have been cured. Zadig did not read it: but, as ſoon as he was able to go abroad, he went to pay a viſit to her in whom all his hopes of happineſs were centred, and for whoſe ſake alone he wiſhed to have eyes. Semira had been in the country for three days paſt. He learned on the road, that that fine lady, having openly declared that ſhe had an unconquerable averſion to one eyed men, had, the night before, given her hand to Orcan. At this news he fell ſpeechleſs to the ground. His ſorrows brought him almoſt to the brink of the grave. He was long indiſpoſed; but reaſon, at laſt, got the better of his affliction; and the ſeverity of his fate ſerved even to conſole him.

"Since (ſaid he) I have ſuffered ſo much from the cruel caprice of a woman educated at court, I muſt now think of marrying the daughter of a citizen." He pitched upon Azora, a lady of the greateſt prudence, and of the beſt family in town. He married her, and lived with her for three months in all the delights of the moſt tender union. He only obſerved that ſhe had a little levity; and was too apt to find that thoſe young men who had the moſt handſome perſons were likewiſe poſſeſſed of moſt wit and virtue.

The NOSE.

ONE morning Azora returned from a walk in a terrible paſſion, and uttering the moſt violent exclamations. "What aileth thee (ſaid he) my dear ſpouſe? what is it that can thus have diſcompoſed thee?" "Alas, (ſaid ſhe) thou wouldeſt be as much enraged as I am, hadſt thou ſeen what I have juſt beheld. I have been to comfort the young widow Coſrou, who, within theſe two days, hath raiſed a tomb to her young huſband, near the rivulet that waſhes the ſkirts of this meadow. She vowed to heaven, in the bitterneſs of her grief, to remain at this tomb, while the water of the rivulet ſhould continue to run near it." "Well, (ſaid Zadig) ſhe is an excellent woman, and loved her huſband with the moſt ſincere affection." Ah, (replied Azora) didſt thou but know in what ſhe was employed when I went to wait upon her!" "In what, pray, beautiful Azora? was ſhe turning the courſe of the rivulet?" Azora broke out into ſuch long invectives, and loaded the young widow with ſuch bitter reproaches, that Zadig was far from being pleaſed with this oſtentation of virtue.

Zadig had a friend, named Cador, one of thoſe young men in whom his wife diſcovered more probity and merit than in others. He made him his confident, and ſecured his fidelity as much as poſſible, by a conſiderable preſent. Azora, having paſſed two days with a friend in the country, returned home on the third. The ſervants told her, with tears in their eyes, that her huſband died ſuddenly the night before; that they were afraid to ſend her an account of this mournful event; and that they had juſt been depoſiting his corps in the tomb of his anceſtors, at the end of his garden. She wept; ſhe tore her hair, and ſwore ſhe would follow him to the grave. In the evening, Ca-

dor begged leave to wait upon her, and joined his tears with hers. Next day they wept leſs, and dined together. Cador told her, that his friend had left him the greateſt part of his eſtate; and that he ſhould think himſelf extremely happy in ſharing his fortune with her. The lady wept, fell into a paſſion, and at laſt became more mild and gentle. They ſat longer at ſupper than at dinner. They now talked with greater confidence. Azora praiſed the deceaſed; but owned that he had many failings from which Cador was free.

During ſupper, Cador complained of a violent pain in his ſide. The lady, greatly concerned, and eager to ſerve him, cauſed all kinds of eſſences to be brought, with which ſhe anointed him, to try if ſome of them might not poſſibly eaſe him of his pain. She lamented that the great Hermes was not ſtill in Babylon. She even condeſcended to touch the ſide in which Cador felt ſuch exquiſite pain. "Art thou ſubject to this cruel diſorder?" ſaid ſhe to him with a compaſſionate air. "It ſometimes brings me (replied Cador) to the brink of the grave; and there is but one remedy that can give me relief; and that is, to apply to my ſide the noſe of a man who is lately dead." "A ſtrange remedy, indeed!" ſaid Azora. "Not more ſtrange (replied he) than the ſachels of Arnou againſt the apoplexy *." This reaſon, added to the great merit of the young man, at laſt determined the lady. "After all (ſays ſhe) when my huſband ſhall croſs the bridge Tchinavar, in his journey to the other world, the angel Aſrael will not refuſe him a paſſage becauſe his noſe is a little ſhorter in the ſecond life than it was in the firſt." She then took a razor; went to her huſband's tomb; bedewed it with her tears; and drew near to cut off the noſe of Zadig, whom ſhe found extended at full length

* There was at that time a Babylonian named Arnou, who, according to his advertiſements in the Gazettes, cured and prevented all kinds of apoplexies, by a little bag hung about the neck.

length in the tomb. Zadig aroſe, holding his noſe with one hand, and putting back the razor with the other. "Madam, (ſaid he) don't exclaim ſo violently againſt young Coſrou: the project of cutting off my noſe is equal to that of turning the courſe of a rivulet *."

The Dog and the Horse.

ZADIG found by experience, that the firſt month of marriage, as it is written in the book of Zend, is the moon of honey; and that the ſecond is the moon of wormwood. He was, ſome time after, obliged to repudiate Azora, who became too difficult to be pleaſed; and he then ſought for happineſs in the ſtudy of nature. "No man (ſaid he) can be happier than a philoſopher, who reads in this great book, which God hath placed before our eyes. The truths he diſcovers are his own. He nouriſhes and exalts his ſoul; he lives in peace; he fears nothing from men; and his tender ſpouſe will not come to cut off his noſe."

Poſſeſſed of theſe ideas, he retired to a country-houſe on the banks of the Euphrates. There he did not employ himſelf in calculating how many inches of water flow in a ſecond of time under the arches of a bridge, or whether there fell a cube-line of rain in the month of the Mouſe, more than in the month of the Sheep. He never dreamed of making ſilk of cobwebs, or porcelain of broken bottles; but he chiefly ſtudied the properties of plants and animals; and ſoon acquired a ſagacity that made him diſcover a thouſand differences where other men ſee nothing but uniformity.

One

* One ſees the author had in his eye the well-known fable of the Epheſian matron.

One day, as he was walking near a little wood, he ſaw one of the queen's eunuchs running towards him, followed by ſeveral officers, who appeared to be in great perplexity, and who ran to and fro like men diſtracted, eagerly ſearching for ſomething they had loſt of great value. "Young man (ſaid the firſt eunuch) haſt thou ſeen the queen's dog?" "It is a bitch, (replied Zadig with great modeſty) and not a dog." "Thou art in the right," returned the firſt eunuch. ——"It is a very ſmall ſhe-ſpaniel (added Zadig) ſhe has lately whelped; ſhe limps on the left fore-foot, and has very long ears." "Thou haſt ſeen her," ſaid the firſt eunuch, quite out of breath." "No, (replied Zadig) I have not ſeen her; nor did I ſo much as know that the queen had a bitch."

Exactly at the ſame time, by one of the common freaks of fortune, the fineſt horſe in the king's ſtable had eſcaped from the jockey in the plains of Babylon. The principal huntſman, and all the other officers, run after him with as much eagerneſs and anxiety as the firſt eunuch had done after the bitch. The principal huntſman addreſſed himſelf to Zadig, and aſked him if he had not ſeen the king's horſe paſſing by? "He is the fleeteſt horſe in the king's ſtable, (replied Zadig;) he is five feet high, with very ſmall hoofs, and a tail three feet and a half in length; the ſtuds on his bit are gold of twenty-three carats, and his ſhoes are ſilver, of eleven penny-weights." "What way did he take? where is he?" demanded the chief huntſman. "I have not ſeen him *, (replied Zadig) and never heard talk of him before."

The principal huntſman, and the firſt eunuch never doubted but that Zadig had ſtolen the king's horſe, and the queen's bitch. They therefore had him conducted before the aſſembly of the grand deſterham, who condemned him to the knout, and to ſpend the reſt

* This, however, was a mere equivocation; for, though he had not actually ſeen the horſe, it will afterwards appear that he muſt have known what road he followed.

reſt of his days in Siberia *. Hardly was the ſentence paſſed, when the horſe and bitch were both found. The judges were reduced to the diſagreeable neceſſity of reverſing their ſentence; but they condemned Zadig to pay four hundred ounces of gold, for having ſaid that he had not ſeen what he had ſeen. This fine he was obliged to pay; after which he was permitted to plead his cauſe before the council of the grand deſterham, when he ſpoke to the following effect:

"Ye ſtars of juſtice, abyſs of ſciences, mirrors of truth, who have the weight of lead, the hardneſs of iron, the ſplendour of the diamond, and many of the properties of gold; ſince I am permitted to ſpeak before this auguſt aſſembly, I ſwear to you by Oromades, that I have never ſeen the queen's reſpectable bitch, nor the ſacred horſe of the king of kings. The truth of the matter was as follows: I was walking towards the little wood, where I afterwards met the venerable eunuch, and the moſt illuſtrious chief huntſman. I obſerved on the ſand the traces of an animal, and could eaſily perceive them to be thoſe of a little dog. The light and long furrows impreſſed on little eminences of ſand between the marks of the paws, plainly diſcovered that it was a bitch, whoſe dugs were hanging down, and that therefore ſhe muſt have whelped a few days before. Other traces of a different kind, that always appeared to have gently bruſhed the ſurface of the ſand near the marks of the fore-feet, ſhewed me that ſhe had very long ears; and, as I remarked, that there was always a ſlighter impreſſion made on the ſand by one foot than by the other three, I found that the bitch of our auguſt queen was a little lame, if I may be allowed the expreſſion."

"With

* Here the author ſeems to have forgot himſelf; otherwiſe he would never have dreamed of inflicting a Ruſſian puniſhment on a Babylonian criminal; far leſs of ſending him in exile from the banks of the Euphrates into the deſerts of Siberia.

"With regard to the horſe of the king of kings, you will be pleaſed to know, that walking in the lanes of this wood, I obſerved the marks of a horſe's ſhoes, all at equal diſtances. This muſt be a horſe, ſaid I to myſelf, that gallops excellently. The duſt on the trees in a narrow road that was but ſeven feet wide was a little bruſhed off, at the diſtance of three feet and a half from the middle of the road. This horſe, ſaid I, has a tail three feet and a half long, which being whiſked to the right and left, has ſwept away the duſt. I obſerved under the trees that formed an arbour five feet in heighth, that the leaves of the branches were newly fallen; from whence I inferred that the horſe had touched them, and that he muſt therefore be five feet high. As to his bit, it muſt be gold of twenty-three carats, for he had rubbed its boſſes againſt a ſtone which I knew to be a touchſtone, and which I have tried. In a word, from the marks made by his ſhoes on flints of another kind, I concluded that he was ſhod with ſilver eleven deniers fine." All the judges admired Zadig for his acute and profound diſcernment. The news of this ſpeech was carried even to the king and queen Nothing was talked of but Zadig in the anti-chambers, the chambers, and the cabinet; and though many of the Magi were of opinion that he ought to be burnt as a ſorcerer, the king ordered his officers to reſtore him the four hundred ounces of gold which he had been obliged to pay. The regiſter, the attornies and bailiffs, went to his houſe with great formality, to carry him back his four hundred ounces. They only retained three hundred and ninety-eight of them to defray the expences of juſtice; and their ſervants demanded their fees.

Zadig ſaw how extremely dangerous it ſometimes is to appear too knowing, and therefore reſolved that on the next occaſion of the like nature, he would not tell what he had ſeen.

Such an opportunity ſoon offered. A priſoner of ſtate made his eſcape, and paſſed under the windows of Zadig's houſe. Zadig was examined and made

no

no anſwer. But it was proved that he had looked at the priſoner from this window. For this crime he was condemned to pay five hundred ounces of gold; and, according to the polite cuſtom of Babylon, he thanked his judges for their indulgence. "Great God, ſaid he to himſelf, what a misfortune it is to walk in a wood through which the queen's bitch or the king's horſe have paſſed! how dangerous to look out at a window! and how difficult to be happy in this life!"

The Envious Man.

ZADIG reſolved to comfort himſelf by philoſophy and friendſhip, for the evils he had ſuffered from fortune. He had in the ſuburbs of Babylon a houſe elegantly furniſhed, in which he aſſembled all the arts and all the pleaſures worthy the purſuit of a gentleman. In the morning his library was open to the learned. In the evening, his table was ſurrounded by good company. But he ſoon found what very dangerous gueſts theſe men of letters are. A warm diſpute aroſe on one of Zoroaſter's laws, which forbids the eating of a griffin. "Why, ſaid ſome of them, prohibit the eating of a griffin, if there is no ſuch animal in nature?" "There muſt neceſſarily be ſuch an animal (ſaid the others) ſince Zoroaſter forbids us to eat it." Zadig would fain have reconciled them by ſaying: "If there are griffins let us not eat them; if there are no griffins we cannot poſſibly eat them; and thus either way we ſhall obey Zoroaſter."

A learned man, who had compoſed thirteen volumes on the properties of the griffin, and was beſides the chief theurgite, haſted away to accuſe Zadig before one of the principal magi, named Yebor, the greateſt blockhead, and therefore the greateſt fanatic among the Chaldeans. This man would have impaled Zadig

dig to do honour to the ſun, and would then have recited the breviary of Zoroaſter with greater ſatisfaction. The friend Cador, (a friend is better than a hundred prieſts) went to Yebor and ſaid to him, "Long live the ſun and the griffins; beware of puniſhing Zadig; he is a ſaint; he has griffins in his inner court, and does not eat them; and his accuſer is an heretic, who dares to maintain that rabbits have cloven feet, and are not unclean." "Weil, (ſaid Yebor, ſhaking his bald pate) we muſt impale Zadig for having thought contemptuouſly of griffins, and the other for having ſpoke diſreſpectfully of rabbits." Cador huſhed up the affair by means of a maid of honour who had bore him a child, and who had great intereſt in the college of the magi. No body was impaled. This lenity occaſioned a great murmuring among ſome of the doctors, who from thence predicted the fall of Babylon *. Upon what does happineſs depend, (ſaid Zadig) I am perſecuted by every thing in the world, even on account of beings that have no exiſtence." He curſed thoſe men of learning, and reſolved for the future to live with none but good company.

He aſſembled at his houſe the moſt worthy men, and the moſt beautiful ladies of Babylon. He gave them delicious ſuppers, often preceded by concerts of muſick, and always animated by polite converſation, from which he knew how to baniſh that affectation of wit, which is the ſureſt method of preventing it entirely, and of ſpoiling the pleaſure of the moſt agreeable ſociety. Neither the choice of his friends nor that of the diſhes, was made by vanity; for in every thing he preferred the ſubſtance to the ſhadow; and by theſe means he procured that real reſpect to which he did not aſpire.

Oppoſite

* This is a ſevere ſatire upon thoſe cruel bigots who perſecute all ſuch as preſume to differ from eſtabliſhed opinions, though purely ſpeculative.

Oppoſite to his houſe lived one Arimazes, a man whoſe deformed countenance was but a faint picture of his ſtill more deformed mind. His heart was a mixture of malice, pride, and envy. Having never been able to ſucceed in any of his undertakings, he revenged himſelf on all around him, by loading them with the blackeſt calumnies. Rich as he was, he found it difficult to procure a ſet of flatterers. The rattling of the chariots that entered Zadig's court in the evening filled him with uneaſineſs; the ſound of his praiſes enraged him ſtill more. He ſometimes went to Zadig's houſe, and ſat down at table without being deſired; where he ſpoiled all the pleaſure of the company, as the harpies are ſaid to infect the viands they touch. It happened that one day he took it in his head to give an entertainment to a lady, who, inſtead of accepting it, went to ſup with Zadig. At another time, as he was talking with Zadig in the palace, they accoſted a miniſter, who invited Zadig to ſupper, without inviting Arimazes. The moſt implacable hatred has ſeldom a more ſolid foundation. This man, who in Babylon was called the *Envious*, reſolved to ruin Zadig, becauſe he was called the *Happy*. "The opportunity of doing miſchief occurs a hundred times in a day, and that of doing good but once a year," as ſayeth the wiſe Zoroaſter.

The envious man went to ſee Zadig, who was walking in his garden with two friends and a lady, to whom he ſaid many gallant things, without any other intention than that of ſaying them. The converſation turned upon a war which the king had juſt brought to a happy concluſion againſt the prince of Hircania, his vaſſal. Zadig, who had ſignalized his courage in this ſhort war, beſtowed great praiſes on the king, but greater ſtill on the lady. He took out his pocket-book, and wrote four lines extempore, which he gave to this amiable perſon to read. His friends begged they might ſee them; but modeſty, or rather a well regulated ſelf-love, would not allow

low him to grant their requeſt. He knew that extemporary verſes are never approved by any but by the perſon in whoſe honour they are written. He therefore tore in two the leaf on which he had wrote them, and threw both the pieces into a thicket of roſe buſhes, where the reſt of the company ſought for them in vain. A ſlight ſhower falling ſoon after, obliged them to return to the houſe. The envious man, who ſtaid in the garden, continued to ſearch, till at laſt he found a piece of the leaf. It had been torn in ſuch a manner, that each half of a line formed a complete ſenſe, and even a verſe of a ſhorter meaſure; but what was ſtill more ſurpriſing, theſe ſhort verſes were found to contain the moſt injurious reflections on the king; they ran thus:

Par les plus grands forfaits
Sur le trône affermi,
Dans la publique paix
C'eſt le ſeul ennemi.

By crimes of deepeſt dye
Eſtabliſh'd on the throne,
Of peace the enemy
Is he, and he alone.

The envious man was now happy for the firſt time of his life. He had it in his power to ruin a perſon of virtue and merit. Filled with this fiend-like joy, he found means to convey to the king the ſatire written by the hand of Zadig, who, together with the lady and his two friends, was thrown into priſon. His trial was ſoon finiſhed, without his being permitted to ſpeak for himſelf. As he was going to receive his ſentence, the envious man threw himſelf in his way, and told him with a loud voice, that his verſes were good for nothing. Zadig did not value himſelf on being a good poet; but it filled him with inexpreſſible concern to find that he was condemned for high treaſon; and that the fair lady and his two friends

friends were confined in priſon for a crime of which they were not guilty. He was not allowed to ſpeak, becauſe his writing ſpoke for him. Such was the law of Babylon. Accordingly he was conducted to the place of execution, through an immenſe crowd of ſpectators, who durſt not venture to expreſs their pity for him; but who carefully examined his countenance, to ſee if he died with a good grace. His relations alone were inconſolable; for they could not ſucceed to his eſtate. Three-fourths of his wealth were confiſcated into the king's treaſury, and the other fourth was given to the envious man.

Juſt as he was preparing for death, the king's parrot flew from its cage, and alighted on a roſe buſh in Zadig's garden. A peach had been driven thither by the wind from a neighbouring tree, and had fallen on a piece of the written leaf of the pocket-book, to which it ſtuck. The bird carried off the peach and the paper, and laid them on the king's knee. The king took up the paper with great eagerneſs, and read the words, which formed no ſenſe, and ſeemed to be the endings of verſes. He loved poetry; and there is always ſome mercy to be expected from a prince of that diſpoſition. The adventure of the parrot ſet him a thinking. The queen, who remembered what had been written on the piece of Zadig's pocket-book, cauſed it to be brought. They compared the two pieces together, and found them to tally exactly: they then read the verſes as Zadig had wrote them.

Par les plus grands forfaits j'ai vû troubler la terre,
Sur le trône affermi le roi ſait tout domter.
Dans la publique paix l'amour ſeul fait la guerre:
C'eſt le ſeul ennemi qui ſoit à redouter.

By crimes of deepeſt dye——the wretched world,
in thrall,
Eſtabliſh'd on the throne——our monarch's pow'r
rever'd;
Of peace the enemy—Love, potent lord o'er all
Is he, and he alone,—we chiefly ought to fear.

The king gave immediate orders that Zadig ſhould be brought before him, and that his two friends and the lady ſhould be ſet at liberty. Zadig fell proſtrate on the ground before the king and queen; humbly begged their pardon for having made ſuch bad verſes, and ſpoke with ſo much propriety, wit, and good ſenſe, that their majeſties deſired they might ſee him again. He did himſelf that honour, and inſinuated himſelf ſtill farther into their good graces. They gave him all the wealth of the envious man; but Zadig reſtored him back the whole of it; and this inſtance of generoſity gave no other pleaſure to the envious man than that of having preſerved his eſtate. The king's eſteem for Zadig increaſed every day. He admitted him into all his parties of pleaſure, and conſulted him in all affairs of ſtate. From that time the queen began to regard him with an eye of tenderneſs, that might one day prove dangerous to herſelf, to the king her auguſt conſort, to Zadig, and to the kingdom in general. Zadig began now to think that happineſs was not ſo unattainable as he had formerly imagined.

The GENEROUS.

THE time was now arrived for celebrating a grand feſtival, which returned every five years. It was a cuſtom in Babylon ſolemnly to declare, at the end of every five years, which of the citizens had performed the moſt generous action. The grandees and the magi were the judges. The firſt ſatrape, who was charged with the government of the city, publiſhed the moſt noble actions that had paſſed under his adminiſtration. The competition was decided by votes; and the king pronounced the ſentence. People came to this ſolemnity from the extremities of the earth. The conqueror received from the monarch's hands a golden cup adorned with precious ſtones his majeſty at the ſame time making him this compliment: "Receive this reward of thy generoſity, and may the gods grant me many ſubjects like to thee."

This memorable day being come, the king appeared on his throne, ſurrounded by the grandees, the magi, and the deputies of all the nations that came to theſe games, where glory was acquired not by the ſwiftneſs of horſes, nor by ſtrength of body, but by virtue. The firſt ſatrape recited with an audible voice, ſuch actions as might intitle the authors of them to this invaluable prize. He did not mention the greatneſs of ſoul with which Zadig had reſtored the envious man his fortune, becauſe it was not judged to be an action worthy of diſputing the prize.

He firſt preſented a judge, who having made a citizen loſe a conſiderable cauſe by a miſtake, for which, after all, he was not accountable, had given him the whole of his own eſtate, which was juſt equal to what the other had loſt.

He

He next produced a young man, who being desperately in love with a lady whom he was going to marry, had yielded her up to his friend, whose passion for her had almost brought him to the brink of the grave, and at the same time had given him the lady's fortune.

He afterwards procured a soldier, who, in the wars of Hircania, had given a still more noble instance of generosity. A party of the enemy having seized his mistress, he fought in her defence with great intrepidity. At that very instant he was informed that another party, at the distance of a few paces, were carrying off his mother; he therefore left his mistress with tears in his eyes, and flew to the assistance of his mother. At last, he returned to the dear object of his love, and found her expiring. He was just going to plunge his sword in his own bosom; but his mother remonstrating against such a desperate deed, and telling him that he was the only support of her life, he had the courage to endure to live.

The judges were inclined to give the prize to the soldier. But the king took up the discourse, and said, "The action of the soldier, and those of the other two, are doubtless very great, but they have nothing in them surprising. Yesterday Zadig performed an action that filled me with wonder. I had a few days before disgraced Coreb, my minister and favourite. I complained of him in the most violent and bitter terms; all my courtiers assured me that I was too gentle, and seemed to vie with each other in speaking ill of Coreb. I asked Zadig what he thought of him, and he had the courage to commend him. I have read in our histories of many people who have atoned for an error by the surrender of their fortune; who have resigned a mistress; or preferred a mother to the object of their affection; but never before did I hear of a courtier who spoke favourably of a disgraced minister, that laboured under the displeasure of his sovereign. I give to each of those whose generous actions have been now recited, twenty thousand

thouſand pieces of gold; but the cup I give to Zadig."

"May it pleaſe your majeſty, (ſaid Zadig,) thyſelf alone deſerveſt the cup: thou haſt performed an action of all others the moſt uncommon and meritorious, ſince, notwithſtanding thy being a powerful king, thou waſt not offended at thy ſlave, when he preſumed to oppoſe thy paſſion." The king and Zadig were equally the object of admiration. The judge who had given his eſtate to his client; the lover who had reſigned his miſtreſs to his friend; and the ſoldier who had preferred the ſafety of his mother to that of his miſtreſs, received the king's preſents, and ſaw their names inrolled in the catalogue of generous men. Zadig had the cup, and the king acquired the reputation of a good prince, which he did not long enjoy. The day was celebrated by feaſts that laſted longer than the law enjoined; and the memory of it is ſtill preſerved in Aſia. Zadig ſaid, "Now I am happy at laſt," but he found himſelf fatally deceived.

The MINISTER.

THE king had loſt his firſt miniſter, and choſe Zadig to ſupply his place. All the ladies in Babylon applauded the choice; for ſince the foundation of the empire there had never been ſuch a young miniſter. But all the courtiers were filled with jealouſy and vexation. The envious man, in particular, was troubled with a ſpitting of blood, and a prodigious inflammation in his noſe. Zadig having thanked the king and queen for their goodneſs, went likewiſe to thank the parrot. "Beautiful bird (ſaid he) 'tis thou that haſt ſaved my life, and made me firſt miniſter. The queen's bitch, and the king's horſe did me a great deal of miſchief; but thou haſt done me much good. Upon ſuch ſlender threads as theſe do the

the fates of mortals hang! but (added he) this happineſs perhaps will vaniſh very ſoon." "Soon," replied the parrot. Zadig was ſomewhat ſtartled at this word. But as he was a good natural philoſopher, and did not believe parrots to be prophets, he quickly recovered his ſpirits, and reſolved to execute his duty to the beſt of his power.

He made every one feel the ſacred authority of the laws, but no one felt the weight of his dignity. He never checked the deliberations of the divan; and every vizier might give his opinion without the fear of incurring the miniſter's diſpleaſure. When he gave judgment, it was not he that gave it, it was the law; the rigour of which, however, whenever it was too ſevere, he always took care to ſoften; and when laws were wanting, the equity of his deciſions was ſuch as might eaſily have made them paſs for thoſe of Zoroaſter.

It is to him that the nations are indebted for this grand principle, to wit, that it is better to run the riſk of ſparing the guilty than to condemn the innocent. He imagined that laws were made as well to ſecure the people from the ſuffering of injuries as to reſtrain them from the commiſſion of crimes. His chief talent conſiſted in diſcovering the truth, which all men ſeek to obſcure. This great talent he put in practice from the very beginning of his adminiſtration. A famous merchant of Babylon, who died in the Indies, divided his eſtate equally between his two ſons, after having diſpoſed of their ſiſter in marriage, and left a preſent of thirty thouſand pieces of gold to that ſon who ſhould be found to have loved him beſt. The eldeſt raiſed a tomb to his memory; the youngeſt increaſed his ſiſter's portion, by giving her a part of his inheritance. Every one ſaid that the eldeſt ſon loved his father beſt, and the youngeſt his ſiſter; and that the thirty thouſand pieces belonged to the eldeſt.

Zadig ſent for both of them, the one after the other. To the eldeſt he ſaid, "Thy father is not dead; he is recovered of his laſt illneſs, and is returning

turning to Babylon." "God be praiſed (replied the young man,) but his tomb coſt me a conſiderable ſum." Zadig afterwards ſaid the ſame thing to the youngeſt. "God be praiſed, (ſaid he) I will go and reſtore to my father all that I have; but I could wiſh that he would leave my ſiſter what I have given her." "Thou ſhalt reſtore nothing, replied Zadig, and thou ſhalt have the thirty thouſand pieces; for thou art the ſon who loves his father beſt.

A young lady poſſeſſed of a handſome fortune, had given a promiſe of marriage to two magi; and after having, for ſome months, received the inſtructions of both, ſhe proved with child. They were both deſirous of marrying her. "I will take for my huſband, ſaid ſhe, the man who has put me in a condition to give a ſubject to the ſtate." "I am the man that has done the work," ſaid the one. "I am the man that has done it," ſaid the other. "Well, replied the lady, I will acknowledge for the infant's father him that can give it the beſt education." The lady was delivered of a ſon. The two magi contended who ſhould bring him up, and the cauſe was carried before Zadig. Zadig ſummoned the two magi to attend him. "What will you teach your pupil?" ſaid he to the firſt. "I will teach him, (ſaid the doctor) the eight parts of ſpeech, logic, aſtrology, pneumatics, what is meant by ſubſtance and accident, abſtract and concrete, the doctrine of the monades, and the pre-eſtabliſhed harmony." "For my part, (ſaid the ſecond,) I will endeavour to give him a ſenſe of juſtice, and to make him worthy the friendſhip of good men." Zadig then cried, "Whether thou art his father or not, thou ſhalt have his mother."

The DISPUTES and the AUDIENCES.

IN this manner he daily diſcovered the ſubtilty of his genius and the goodneſs of his heart. The people at once admired and loved him. He paſſed for the happieſt man in the world. The whole empire reſounded with his name. All the ladies ogled him. All the men praiſed him for his juſtice. The learned regarded him as an oracle; and even the prieſts confeſſed that he knew more than the old arch-magi Yebor. They were now ſo far from proſecuting him on account of the griffins, that they believed nothing but what he thought credible.

There had reigned in Babylon, for the ſpace of fifteen hundred years, a violent conteſt that had divided the empire into two ſects. The one pretended that they ought to enter the temple of Mitra with the left foot foremoſt *; the other held this cuſtom in deteſtation, and always entered with the right foot firſt. The people waited with great impatience for the day on which the ſolemn feaſt of the ſacred fire was to be celebrated, to ſee which ſect Zadig would favour. All the world had their eyes fixed on his two feet, and the whole city was in the utmoſt ſuſpence and perturbation. Zadig jumped into the temple with his feet joined together; and afterwards proved, in an eloquent diſcourſe, that the ſovereign of heaven and earth, who accepteth not the perſons of men, makes no diſtinction between the right and the left foot. The envious man and his wife alledged that his diſcourſe was not figurative enough, and that he did not make the rocks and mountains to dance with ſufficient agility. "He is dry (ſaid they,) and void of genius: he does not make

* This is probably a glance at the diſputes about Janſeniſm, which, though in themſelves inſignificant, have divided France into two inveterate factions.

make the ſea to fly, and ſtars to fall, nor the ſun to melt like wax: he has not the true oriental ſtile."—— Zadig contented himſelf with having the ſtile of reaſon. All the world favoured him, not becauſe he was in the right road, or followed the dictates of reaſon, or was a man of real merit, but becauſe he was prime vizier.

He terminated with the ſame happy addreſs the grand difference between the white and the black magi. The former maintained that it was the height of impiety to pray to God with the face turned towards the eaſt in winter: the latter aſſerted that God abhorred the prayers of thoſe who turned towards the weſt in ſummer. Zadig decreed that every man ſhould be allowed to turn as he pleaſed.

Thus he found out the happy ſecret of finiſhing all affairs, whether of a private or public nature, in the morning. The reſt of the day he employed in ſuperintending and promoting the embelliſhments of Babylon. He exhibited tragedies that drew tears from the eyes of the ſpectators, and comedies that ſhook their ſides with laughter; a cuſtom which had long been diſuſed, and which his good taſte now induced him to revive. He never affected to be more knowing in the polite arts than the artiſts themſelves; he encouraged them by rewards and honours, and was never jealous of their talents. In the evening the king was highly entertained with his converſation, and the queen ſtill more. "Great miniſter!" ſaid the king. "Amiable miniſter!" ſaid the queen; and both of them added, "it would have been a great loſs to the ſtate, had ſuch a man been hanged."

Never was a man in power obliged to give ſo many audiences to the ladies. Moſt of them came to conſult him about——no buſineſs at all, that ſo they might have ſome buſineſs with him. The wife of the envious man was among the firſt. She ſwore to him by Mitra, by Zenda Veſta, and by the ſacred fire, that ſhe deteſted her huſband's conduct: ſhe then told him in confidence that he was a jealous brutal wretch; and

gave him to underſtand, that heaven puniſhed him for his crimes, by refuſing him the precious effects of the ſacred fire, by which alone man can be rendered like the gods. At laſt ſhe concluded by dropping her garter. Zadig took it up with his uſual politeneſs; but did not tie it about the lady's leg: and this ſlight fault, if it may be called a fault, was the cauſe of the moſt terrible misfortunes. Zadig never thought of it more; but the lady thought of it with great attention.

Never a day paſſed without ſeveral viſits from the ladies. The ſecret annals of Babylon pretend that he once yielded to the temptation; but that he was ſurpriſed to find that he enjoyed his miſtreſs without pleaſure, and embraced her without diſtraction. The lady to whom he gave, almoſt without being ſenſible of it, theſe marks of his favour, was a maid of honour to queen Aſtarte. This tender Babylonian ſaid to herſelf by way of comfort, "This man muſt have his head filled with a prodigious heap of buſineſs, ſince even in making love he cannot avoid thinking on public affairs." Zadig happened, at the very inſtant when moſt people ſay nothing at all, and others only pronounce a few ſacred words, to cry out, "The queen." The Babylonian thought that he was at laſt happily come to himſelf, and that he ſaid, "My queen." But Zadig, who was always too abſent, pronounced the name of Aſtarte. The lady, who in this happy ſituation interpreted every thing in her own favour, imagined that he meant to ſay, "Thou art more beautiful than queen Aſtarte." After receiving ſome handſome preſents, ſhe left the ſeraglio of Zadig, and went to relate her adventure to the envious woman, who was her intimate friend, and who was greatly piqued at the preference given to the other. "He would not ſo much as deign, ſaid ſhe, to tie this garter about my leg, and I am therefore reſolved never to wear it more." "O ho, ſaid the happy lady to the envious one, your garters are the ſame with the queen's! do you buy them from the ſame weaver?" This hint ſet the envious lady a thinking; ſhe made no

reply,

reply, but went to conſult with her envious huſband.

Mean while Zadig perceived that his thoughts were always diſtracted, as well when he gave audience, as when he ſat in judgment. He did not know to what to attribute this abſence of mind; and that was his only ſorrow.

He had a dream, in which he imagined that he laid himſelf down upon a heap of dry herbs, among which there were many prickly ones that gave him great uneaſineſs, and that he afterwards repoſed himſelf on a ſoft bed of roſes, from which there ſprung a ſerpent that wounded him to the heart with its ſharp and venomed tongue. "Alas, ſaid he, I have long lain on theſe dry and prickly herbs, I am now on the bed of roſes; but what ſhall be the ſerpent?"

JEALOUSY.

ZADIG's calamities ſprung even from his happineſs, and eſpecially from his merit. He every day converſed with the king and Aſtarte his auguſt conſort. The charms of his converſation were greatly heightened by that deſire of pleaſing, which is to the mind what dreſs is to beauty. His youth and graceful appearance inſenſibly made an impreſſion on Aſtarte, which ſhe did not at firſt perceive. Her paſſion grew and flouriſhed in the boſom of innocence. Without fear or ſcruple, ſhe indulged the pleaſing ſatisfaction of ſeeing and hearing a man, who was ſo dear to her huſband, and to the empire in general. She was continually praiſing him to the king. She talked of him to her women, who were always ſure to improve on her praiſes. And thus every thing contributed to pierce her heart with a dart, of which ſhe did not ſeem to be ſenſible. She made ſeveral preſents to Zadig, which diſcovered a greater ſpirit of gallantry

than ſhe imagined. She intended to ſpeak to him only as a queen ſatisfied with his ſervices; and her expreſſions were ſometimes thoſe of a woman in love.

Aſtarte was much more beautiful than that Semira who had ſuch a ſtrong averſion to one-eyed men, or that other woman who had reſolved to cut off her huſband's noſe. Her unreſerved familiarity; her tender expreſſions, at which ſhe began to bluſh; and her eyes, which, though ſhe endeavoured to divert them to other objects, were always fixed upon his, inſpired Zadig with a paſſion that filled him with aſtoniſhment. He ſtruggled hard to get the better of it. He called to his aid the precepts of philoſophy, which had always ſtood him in ſtead; but from thence, though he could derive the light of knowledge, he could procure no remedy to cure the diſorders of his love-ſick heart. Duty, gratitude, and violated majeſty, preſented themſelves to his mind, as ſo many avenging gods. He ſtruggled; he conquered; but this victory, which he was obliged to purchaſe afreſh every moment, coſt him many ſighs and tears. He no longer dared to ſpeak to the queen with that ſweet and charming familiarity which had been ſo agreeable to them both. His countenance was covered with a cloud. His converſation was conſtrained and incoherent. His eyes were fixed on the ground; and when, in ſpite of all his endeavours to the contrary, they encountered thoſe of the queen, they found them bathed in tears, and darting arrows of flame. They ſeemed to ſay, We adore each other, and yet are afraid to love: we both burn with a fire which we both condemn.

Zadig left the royal preſence full of perplexity and deſpair, and having his heart oppreſſed with a burden which he was no longer able to bear. In the violence of his perturbation he involuntarily betrayed the ſecret to his friend Cador, in the ſame manner as a man, who, having long ſupported the fits of a cruel diſeaſe, diſcovers his pain by a cry extorted from him by a more ſevere fit, and by the cold ſweat that covers his brow.

"I have

"I have already diſcovered, ſaid Cador, the ſentiments which thou wouldeſt fain conceal from thyſelf. The ſymptoms by which the paſſions ſhew themſelves are certain and infallible. Judge, my dear Zadig, ſince I have read thy heart, whether the king will not diſcover ſomething in it that may give him offence. He has no other fault but that of being the moſt jealous man in the world. Thou canſt reſiſt the violence of thy paſſion with greater fortitude than the queen, becauſe thou art a philoſopher, and becauſe thou art Zadig. Aſtarte is a woman: ſhe ſuffers her eyes to ſpeak with ſo much the more imprudence, as ſhe does not as yet think herſelf guilty. Conſcious of her own innocence, ſhe unhappily neglects thoſe external appearances which are ſo neceſſary. I ſhall tremble for her ſo long as ſhe has nothing wherewithal to reproach herſelf. Were ye both of one mind, ye might eaſily deceive the whole world. A growing paſſion, which we endeavour to ſuppreſs, diſcovers itſelf in ſpite of all our efforts to the contrary; but love, when gratified, is eaſily concealed." Zadig trembled at the propoſal of betraying the king, his benefactor, and never was he more faithful to his prince, than when guilty of an involuntary crime againſt him. Mean while, the queen mentioned the name of Zadig ſo frequently, and with ſuch a bluſhing and downcaſt look; ſhe was ſometimes ſo lively, and ſometimes ſo perplexed, when ſhe ſpoke to him in the king's preſence; and was ſeized with ſuch a deep thoughtfulneſs at his going away, that the king began to be troubled. He believed all that he ſaw, and imagined all that he did not ſee. He particularly remarked, that his wife's ſhoes were blue, and that Zadig's ſhoes were blue; that his wife's ribbons were yellow; and that Zadig's bonnet was yellow; and theſe were terrible ſymptoms to a prince of ſo much delicacy. In his jealous mind ſuſpicions were turned into certainty.

All the ſlaves of kings and queens are ſo many ſpies over their hearts. They ſoon obſerved that Aſtarte was tender, and that Moabdar was jealous.

The envious man perſuaded his wife to ſend the king her garter, which reſembled thoſe of the queen; and to complete the misfortune, this garter was blue. The monarch now thought of nothing but in what manner he might beſt execute his vengeance. He one night reſolved to poiſon the queen, and in the morning to put Zadig to death by the bowſtring. The orders were given to a mercileſs eunuch, who commonly executed his acts of vengeance. There happened at that time to be in the king's chamber a little dwarf, who, tho' dumb, was not deaf. He was allowed, on account of his inſignificance, to go wherever he pleaſed; and, as a domeſtic animal, was a witneſs of what paſſed in the moſt profound ſecrecy. This little mute was ſtrongly attached to the queen and Zadig. With equal horror and ſurprize he heard the cruel orders given. But how prevent the fatal ſentence that in a few hours was to be carried into execution? He could not write, but he could paint; and excelled particularly in drawing a ſtriking reſemblance. He employed a part of the night in ſketching out with his pencil what he meant to impart to the queen. The piece repreſented the king in one corner, boiling with rage, and giving orders to the eunuch; a blue bowſtring, and a bowl on a table, with blue garters and yellow ribbands; the queen in the middle of the picture, expiring in the arms of her women, and Zadig ſtrangled at her feet. The horizon repreſented a riſing ſun, to expreſs that this ſhocking execution was to be performed in the morning. As ſoon as he had finiſhed the picture, he ran to one of Aſtarte's women, awaked her, and made her underſtand, that ſhe muſt immediately carry it to the queen.

At midnight a meſſenger knocks at Zadig's door; awakes him; and gives him a note from the queen. He doubts whether it is not a dream; and opens the letter with a trembling hand. But how great was his ſurprize! and who can expreſs the conſternation and deſpair into which he was thrown, upon reading theſe words: "Fly, this inſtant, or thou art a dead man

Fly

Fly, Zadig, I conjure thee by our mutual love and my yellow ribbands. I have not been guilty; but I find that I muſt die like a criminal"

Zadig was hardly able to ſpeak. He ſent for Cador, and, without uttering a word, gave him the note. Cador forced him to obey, and forthwith to take the road to Memphis. "Shouldeſt thou dare (ſaid he) to go in ſearch of the queen, thou wilt haſten her death. Shouldeſt thou ſpeak to the king, thou wilt infallibly ruin her. I will take upon me the charge of her deſtiny; follow thy own. I will ſpread a report that thou haſt taken the road to India. I will ſoon follow thee, and inform thee of all that ſhall have paſſed in Babylon." At that inſtant, Cador cauſed two of the ſwifteſt dromedaries to be brought to a private gate of the palace. Upon one of theſe he mounted Zadig, whom he was obliged to carry to the door, and who was ready to expire with grief. He was accompanied by a ſingle domeſtic; and Cador, plunged in ſorrow and aſtoniſhment, ſoon loſt ſight of his friend.

This illuſtrious fugitive arriving on the ſide of a hill, from whence he could take a view of Babylon, turned his eyes towards the queen's palace, and fainted away at the ſight; nor did he recover his ſenſes but to ſhed a torrent of tears, and to wiſh for death. At length, after his thoughts had been long engroſſed in lamenting the unhappy fate of the loveliеſt woman and the greateſt queen in the world, he for a moment turned his views on himſelf, and cried, "What then is human life? O virtue, how haſt thou ſerved me! Two women have baſely deceived me; and now a third, who is innocent, and more beautiful than both the others, is going to be put to death! Whatever good I have done hath been to me a continual ſource of calamity and affliction; and I have only been raiſed to the height of grandeur, to be tumbled down the moſt horrid precipice of misfortune." Filled with theſe gloomy reflections, his eyes overſpread with the veil of grief, his countenance covered with the paleneſs of

death, and his ſoul plunged in an abyſs of the blackeſt deſpair, he continued his journey towards Egypt.

The WOMAN Beaten.

ZADIG directed his courſe by the ſtars. The conſtellation of Orion, and the ſplendid Dog-ſtar, guided his ſteps towards the pole of Canopæa. He admired theſe vaſt globes of light, which appear to our eyes but as many little ſparks, while the earth, which in reality is only an imperceptible point in nature, appears to our fond imaginations, as ſomething ſo grand and noble. He then repreſented to himſelf the human ſpecies, as it really is, as a parcel of inſects devouring one another on a little atom of clay. This true image ſeemed to annihilate his misfortunes, by making him ſenſible of the nothingneſs of his own being, and of that of Babylon. His ſoul launched out into infinity, and, detached from the ſenſes, contemplated the immutable order of the univerſe. But when, afterwards, returning to himſelf, and entering into his own heart, he conſidered that Aſtarte had perhaps died for him, the univerſe vaniſhed from his ſight, and he beheld nothing in the whole compaſs of nature but Aſtarte expiring, and Zadig unhappy. While he thus alternately gave up his mind to this flux and reflux of ſublime philoſophy and intolerable grief, he advanced towards the frontiers of Egypt; and his faithful domeſtic was already in the firſt village, in ſearch of a lodging. Mean while, as Zadig was walking towards the gardens that ſkirted the village, he ſaw, at a ſmall diſtance from the highway, a woman bathed in tears, and calling heaven and earth to her aſſiſtance; and a man in a furious paſſion, purſuing her. This madman had already overtaken the woman, who embraced his knees, notwithſtanding which he loaded her with blows and reproaches. Zadig judged by the frantic behaviour

behaviour of the Egyptian, and by the repeated pardons which the lady aſked him, that the one was jealous, and the other unfaithful. But when he ſurveyed the woman more narrowly, and found her to be a lady of exquiſite beauty, and even to have a ſtrong reſemblance to the unhappy Aſtarte, he felt himſelf inſpired with compaſſion for her, and horror towards the Egyptian. "Aſſiſt me, (cried ſhe to Zadig with the deepeſt ſighs) deliver me from the hands of the moſt barbarous man in the world; ſave my life." Moved by theſe pitiful cries, Zadig ran and threw himſelf between her and the barbarian. As he had ſome knowledge of the Egyptian language, he addreſſed him in that tongue: "If (ſaid he) thou haſt any humanity, I conjure thee to pay ſome regard to her beauty and weakneſs. How canſt thou behave in this outrageous manner to one of the maſter-pieces of nature, who lies at thy feet, and has no defence but her tears?" "Ah, ah! (replied the madman) thou art likewiſe in love with her; I muſt be revenged on thee too." So ſaying, he left the lady, whom he had hitherto held with his hand twiſted in her hair, and taking his lance, attempted to ſtab the ſtranger. Zadig, who was in cold blood, eaſily eluded the blow aimed by the frantic Egyptian. He ſeized the lance near the iron with which it was armed. The Egyptian ſtrove to draw it back; Zadig to wreſt it from the Egyptian; and in the ſtruggle it was broke in two. The Egyptian draws his ſword; Zadig does the ſame. They attack each other. The former gives a hundred blows at random; the latter wards them off with great dexterity. The lady, ſeated on a turf, re-adjuſts her head-dreſs, and looks at the combatants. The Egyptian excelled in ſtrength; Zadig in addreſs. The one fought like a man whoſe arm was directed by his judgment; the other like a madman, whoſe blind rage made him deal his blows at random. Zadig cloſes with him, and diſarms him; and while the Egyptian, now become more furious, endeavours to throw himſelf upon him, he ſeizes him, preſſes him cloſe, and throws him

him down; and then holding his ſword to his breaſt, offers him his life. The Egyptian, frantic with rage, draws his poniard, and wounds Zadig at the very inſtant that the conqueror was granting a pardon. Zadig, provoked at ſuch brutal behaviour, plunged his ſword in the boſom of the Egyptian, who giving a horrible ſhriek and a violent ſtruggle, inſtantly expired. Zadig then approached the lady, and ſaid to her with a gentle tone, "He hath forced me to kill him; I have avenged thy cauſe; thou art now delivered from the moſt violent man I ever ſaw; what further, madam, wouldeſt thou have me to do for thee?" "Die, villain, (replied ſhe) die; thou haſt killed my lover; O that I were able to tear out thy heart!" "Why truly, madam, (ſaid Zadig) thou hadſt a ſtrange kind of a man for a lover; he beat thee with all his might, and would have killed me, becauſe thou hadſt entreated me to give thee aſſiſtance." "I wiſh he were beating me ſtill, (replied the lady, with tears and lamentation;) I well deſerved it; for I had given him cauſe to be jealous. Would to heaven that he was now beating me, and that thou wait in his place." Zadig, ſtruck with ſurprize, and inflamed with a higher degree of reſentment than he had ever felt before, ſaid, "Beautiful as thou art, madam, thou deſerveſt that I ſhould beat thee in my turn for thy perverſe and impertinent behaviour; but I ſhall not give myſelf the trouble." So ſaying, he remounted his camel, and advanced towards the town. He had proceeded but a few ſteps, when he turned back at the noiſe of four Babylonian couriers, who came riding at full gallop. One of them, upon ſeeing the woman, cried, "It is the very ſame; ſhe reſembles the deſcription that was given us." They gave themſelves no concern about the dead Egyptian, but inſtantly ſeized the lady. She called out to Zadig; "Help me once more, generous ſtranger; I aſk pardon for having complained of thy conduct; deliver me again, and I will be thine for ever." Zadig was no longer in the humour of fighting for her. "Apply to others, (ſaid he) thou ſhalt not again enſnare me by thy wiles."

wiles." Beſides, he was wounded; his blood was ſtill flowing; and he himſelf had need of aſſiſtance; and the ſight of four Babylonians, probably ſent by king Moabdar, filled him with apprehenſion. He therefore haſtened towards the village, unable to comprehend why four Babylonian couriers ſhould come to ſeize this Egyptian woman, but ſtill more aſtoniſhed at the lady's behaviour.

SLAVERY.

AS he entered the Egyptian village, he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by the people. Every one ſaid, "This is the man that carried off the beautiful Miſſouf; and aſſaſſinated Clitofis." "Gentlemen, (ſaid he) God preſerve me from carrying off your beautiful Miſſouf; ſhe is too capricious for me: and with regard to Clitofis, I did not aſſaſſinate him; I only fought with him in my own defence. He endeavoured to kill me, becauſe I humbly interceded for the beautiful Miſſouf, whom he beat moſt unmercifully. I am a ſtranger, come to ſeek refuge in Egypt; and it is not likely, that in coming to implore your protection, I ſhould begin by carrying off a woman, and aſſaſſinating a man."

The Egyptians were then juſt and humane. The people conducted Zadig to the town-houſe. They firſt of all ordered his wound to be dreſſed; and then examined him and his ſervant apart, in order to diſcover the truth. They found that Zadig was not an aſſaſſin; but as he was guilty of having killed a man, the law condemned him to be a ſlave. His two camels were ſold for the benefit of the town: all the gold he had brought with him was diſtributed among the inhabitants; and his perſon, as well as that of the companion of his journey, was expoſed to ſale in the market-place. An Arabian merchant, named Setoc, made

the

the purchaſe; but as the ſervant was fitter for labour than the maſter, he was ſold at a higher price. There was no compariſon between the two men. Thus Zadig became a ſlave ſubordinate to his own ſervant. They were linked together by a chain faſtened to their feet, and in this condition they followed the Arabian merchant to his houſe. By the way Zadig comforted his ſervant, and exhorted him to patience; but he could not help making, according to his uſual cuſtom, ſome reflections on human life. "I ſee (ſaid he) that the unhappineſs of my fate hath an influence on thine. Hitherto every thing has turned out to me in a moſt unaccountable manner. I have been condemned to pay a fine for having ſeen the marks of a bitch's feet. I thought that I ſhould once have been impaled on account of a griffin. I have been ſent to execution for having made ſome verſes in praiſe of the king. I have been upon the point of being ſtrangled, becauſe the queen had yellow ribbands; and now I am a ſlave with thee, becauſe a brutal wretch beat his miſtreſs. Come, let us keep a good heart; all this perhaps will have an end. The Arabian merchants muſt neceſſarily have ſlaves; and why not I as well as another, ſince, as well as another, I am a man? This merchant will not be cruel; he muſt treat his ſlaves well, if he expects any advantage from them." But while he ſpoke thus, his heart was entirely engroſſed by the fate of the queen of Babylon.

Two days after, the merchant Setoc ſet out for Arabia Deſerta, with his ſlaves and his camels. His tribe dwelt near the deſert of Oreb. The journey was long and painful, Setoc ſet a much greater value on the ſervant than the maſter, becauſe the former was more expert in loading the camels; and all the little marks of diſtinction were ſhewn to him. A camel having died within two days journey of Oreb, his burden was divided and laid on the backs of the ſervants; and Zadig had his ſhare among the reſt. Setoc laughed to ſee all his ſlaves walking with their bodies inclined. Zadig took the liberty to explain to him the cauſe, and

to

to inform him of the laws of the balance. The merchant was aſtoniſhed, and began to regard him with other eyes. Zadig, finding he had raiſed his curioſity, encreaſed it ſtill further by acquainting him with many things that related to commerce; the ſpecific gravity of metals and commodities under an equal bulk; the properties of ſeveral uſeful animals; and the means of rendering thoſe uſeful that are not naturally ſo. At laſt Setoc began to conſider Zadig as a ſage, and preferred him to his companion, whom he had formerly ſo much eſteemed. He treated him well, and had no cauſe to repent of his kindneſs.

As ſoon as Setoc arrived among his own tribe, he demanded the payment of five hundred ounces of ſilver, which he had lent to a Jew in preſence of two witneſſes; but as the witneſſes were dead, and the debt could not be proved, the Hebrew appropriated the merchant's money to himſelf, and piouſly thanked God for putting it in his power to cheat an Arabian. Setoc imparted this troubleſome affair to Zadig, who was now become his council. "In what place (ſaid Zadig) didſt thou lend the five hundred ounces to this infidel?" "Upon a large ſtone, (replied the merchant) that lies near mount Oreb." What is the character of thy debtor?" ſaid Zadig. "That of a knave," returned Setoc. "But I aſk thee, whether he is lively or phlegmatic; cautious or imprudent?" "He is, of all bad prayers, (ſaid Setoc) the moſt lively fellow I ever knew." "Well, (reſumed Zadig) allow me to plead thy cauſe." In effect, Zadig having ſummoned the Jew to the tribunal, addreſſed the judge in the following terms: "Pillow of the throne of equity, I come to demand of this man, in the name of my maſter, five hundred ounces of ſilver, which he refuſes to repay." "Haſt thou any witneſſes?" ſaid the judge. "No, they are dead; but there remains a large ſtone upon which the money was counted; and if it pleaſe thy grandeur to order the ſtone to be ſought for, I hope that will bear witneſs. The Hebrew and I will tarry here till the ſtone arrives: I will ſend for it at my maſter's expence." "With

all

all my heart," replied the judge, and immediately applied himſelf to the diſcuſſion of other affairs.

When the court was going to break up, the judge ſaid to Zadig, "Well, friend, is not thy ſtone come yet?" The Hebrew replied with a ſmile; "Thy grandeur may ſtay here till the morrow, and after all not ſee the ſtone. It is more than ſix miles from hence; and it would require fifteen men to move it." "Well, (cried Zadig) did not I ſay that the ſtone would bear witneſs; ſince this man knows where it is, he thereby confeſſes that it was upon that the money was counted." The Hebrew was diſconcerted, and was ſoon after obliged to confeſs the truth. The judge ordered him to be faſtened to the ſtone, without meat or drink, till he ſhould reſtore the five hundred ounces, which were ſoon after paid.

The ſlave Zadig and the ſtone, were held in great repute in Arabia.

The Funeral Pile.

Setoc, charmed with the happy iſſue of this affair, made his ſlave his intimate friend. He had now conceived as great an eſteem for him as ever the king of Babylon had done; and Zadig was glad that Setoc had no wife. He diſcovered in his maſter a good natural diſpoſition, much probity of heart, and a great ſhare of good ſenſe; but he was ſorry to ſee, that, according to the ancient cuſtom of Arabia, he adored the hoſt of heaven; that is, the ſun, moon, and ſtars. He ſometimes ſpoke to him on this ſubject with great prudence and diſcretion. At laſt he told him, that theſe bodies were like all other bodies in the univerſe, and no more deſerving of our homage, than a tree or a rock. "But (ſaid Setoc) they are eternal beings; and it is from them we derive all we enjoy. They animate nature; they regulate the ſeaſons; and beſides are removed at ſuch an immenſe diſtance from us, that we cannot

cannot help revering them." "Thou receiveſt more advantage (replied Zadig) from the waters of the Red Sea, which carries thy merchandize to the Indies. Why may not it be as ancient as the ſtars? and if thou adoreſt what is placed at a diſtance from thee, thou oughteſt to adore the land of the Gangarides, which lies at the extremity of the earth." "No, (ſaid Setoc) the brightneſs of the ſtars commands my adoration.

At night Zadig lighted up a great number of candles in the tent where he was to ſup with Setoc; and the moment his patron appeared, he fell on his knees before theſe lighted tapers, and ſaid, "Eternal and ſhining luminaries! be ye always propitious to me." Having thus ſaid, he ſat down at the table, without taking the leaſt notice of Setoc; "What art thou doing?" ſaid Setoc to him in amaze. "I act like thee, (replied Zadig) I adore theſe candles, and neglect their maſter and mine." Setoc comprehended the profound ſenſe of this apologue. The wiſdom of his ſlave ſunk deep into his ſoul; he no longer offered incenſe to the creatures, but adored the eternal Being who made them.

There prevailed at that time in Arabia a ſhocking cuſtom, ſprung originally from Scythia, and which, being eſtabliſhed in the Indies by the credit of the Brachmans, threatened to over-run all the Eaſt. When a married man died, and his beloved wife aſpired to the character of a ſaint, ſhe burned herſelf publicly on the body of her huſband. This was a ſolemn feaſt, and was called the Funeral Pile of Widowhood; and that tribe in which moſt women had been burned, was the moſt reſpected. An Arabian of Setoc's tribe being dead, his widow, whoſe name was Almona, and who was very devout, publiſhed the day and hour when ſhe intended to throw herſelf into the fire, amidſt the ſound of drums and trumpets. Zadig remonſtrated againſt this horrible cuſtom; he ſhewed Setoc how inconſiſtent it was with the happineſs of mankind, to ſuffer young widows to burn themſelves every other day, widows who were capable of giving children to the ſtate, or at leaſt of educating thoſe they already had; and he convinced

vinced him that it was his duty to do all that lay in his power, to aboliſh ſuch a barbarous practice. "The women (ſaid Setoc) have poſſeſſed the right of burning themſelves for more than a thouſand years; and who ſhall dare to abrogate a law which time hath rendered ſacred? Is there any thing more reſpectable than ancient abuſes?" "Reaſon is more ancient, (replied Zadig;) mean while, ſpeak thou to the chiefs of the tribes, and I will go to wait on the young widow."

Accordingly he was introduced to her; and, after having inſinuated himſelf into her good graces by ſome compliments on her beauty, and told her what a pity it was to commit ſo many charms to the flames, he at laſt praiſed her for her conſtancy and courage. "Thou muſt ſurely have loved thy huſband (ſaid he to her) with the moſt paſſionate fondneſs." "Who, I? (replied the lady) I loved him not at all. He was a brutal, jealous, inſupportable wretch; but I am firmly reſolved to throw myſelf on his funeral pile." "It would appear then, (ſaid Zadig) that there muſt be a very delicious pleaſure in being burnt alive." "Oh! it makes nature ſhudder, (replied the lady) but that muſt be overlooked. I am a devotee; I ſhould loſe my reputation; and all the world would deſpiſe me, if I did not burn myſelf." Zadig having made her acknowledge that ſhe burned herſelf to gain the good opinion of others, and to gratify her own vanity, entertained her with a long diſcourſe, calculated to make her a little in love with life, and even went ſo far as to inſpire her with ſome degree of good-will for the perſon who ſpoke to her. "And what wilt thou do at laſt, (ſaid he) if the vanity of burning thyſelf ſhould not continue?" "Alas! (ſaid the lady) I believe I ſhould deſire thee to marry me."

Zadig's mind was too much engroſſed with the idea of Aſtarte, not to elude this declaration; but he inſtantly went to the chiefs of the tribes, told them what had paſſed, and adviſed them to make a law, by which a widow ſhould not be permitted to burn herſelf, till ſhe had converſed privately with a young man

for

for the ſpace of an hour. Since that time, not a ſingle woman hath burned herſelf in Arabia. They were indebted to Zadig alone for deſtroying in one day a cruel cuſtom, that had laſted for ſo many ages; and thus he became the benefactor of Arabia.

The SUPPER

SETOC, who could not ſeparate himſelf from this man, in whom dwelt wiſdom, carried him to the great fair of Balzora, whither the richeſt merchants in the earth reſorted. Zadig was highly pleaſed to ſee ſo many men of different countries united in the ſame place. He conſidered the whole univerſe as one large family aſſembled at Balzora. The ſecond day, he ſat at table with an Egyptian, an Indian, an inhabitant of Cathay, a Greek, a Celtic, and ſeveral other ſtrangers, who, in their frequent voyages to the Arabian gulph, had learned enough of the Arabic to make themſelves underſtood. The Egyptian ſeemed to be in a violent paſſion. "What an abominable country is Balzora! (ſaid he) they refuſe me a thouſand ounces of gold on the beſt ſecurity in the world." "How! (ſaid Setoc) on what ſecurity have they refuſed thee this ſum?" "On the body of my aunt, (replied the Egyptian) ſhe was the moſt notable woman in Egypt; ſhe always accompanied me in my journies; ſhe died on the road; I have converted her into one of the fineſt mummies in the world; and, in my own country, I could have as much as I pleaſe, by giving her as a pledge. It is very ſtrange that they will not here lend me ſo much as a thouſand ounces of gold on ſuch a ſolid ſecurity." Angry as he was, he was going to help himſelf to a bit of excellent boiled fowl, when the Indian, taking him by the hand, cried out in a ſorrowful tone; "Ah! what art thou going to do?" "To eat a bit of this fowl," replied the man who owned the mummy. "Take care that thou doeſt not, (replied

(replied the Indian). It is poſſible that the ſoul of the deceaſed may have paſſed into this fowl, and thou wouldeſt not, ſurely, expoſe thyſelf to the danger of eating thy aunt*. To boil fowls is a manifeſt outrage on nature." "What doſt thou mean by thy nature and thy fowls? (replied the choleric Egyptian). We adore a bull; and yet we eat heartily of beef." "You adore a bull! is it poſſible?" ſaid the man of Ganges. "Nothing is more poſſible, (returned the other) we have done ſo for theſe hundred and thirty-five thouſand years; and nobody amongſt us has ever found fault with it." "A hundred and thirty-five thouſand years! (ſaid the Indian). This account is a little exaggerated; it is but eighty thouſand years ſince India was firſt peopled, and we are ſurely more ancient than you: Brama† prohibited our eating of ox-fleſh before you thought of putting it on your ſpits or altars." "This Brama of yours, (ſaid the Egyptian) is a pleaſant ſort of an animal truly, to compare with our Apis; what great things hath your Brama performed?" "It was he (replied the Bramin) that taught mankind to read and write, and to whom the world is indebted for the game of cheſs." "Thou art miſtaken, (ſaid a Chaldean who ſat near him) it is to the fiſh Oannes‡ that we owe theſe great advantages; and it is juſt that we ſhould

* Many caſts or tribes of Indians, eſpecially the Bramins, believe in the metempſychoſis, or tranſmigration of ſouls.

† Brama, or Brahma, is one of the principal deities of the Tonquineſe.

‡ Beroſus, in his account of the Babylonian antiquities, ſays, that in the beginning of the Chaldean empire, an animal called Oannes came out of the Red Sea. He had the body of a fiſh, with the head and feet of a man. He converſed with the people, and imparted to them the knowledge of letters, arts and ſciences. He taught them to form ſocieties, build cities, erect temples, meaſure and cultivate lands; in a word, civilized the whole nation. However, he neither ate nor drank with them, and at ſun ſet always retired into the ſea. This fable probably alludes to ſome ſtrangers who arrived on the coaſt in a ſhip, and took ſome pains to humanize the barbarous inhabitants.

ſhould render homage to none but him. All the world will tell thee, that he is a divine being, with a golden tail and a beautiful human head, and that, for three hours every day, he left the water to preach on dry land. He had ſeveral children who were kings, as every one knows. I have a picture of him at home, which I worſhip with becoming reverence. We may eat as much beef as we pleaſe; but it is ſurely a great ſin to dreſs fiſh for the table. Beſides, you are both of an origin too recent and ignoble to diſpute with me. The Egyptians reckon only a hundred and thirty-five thouſand years, and the Indians but eighty thouſand, while we have almanacks of four thouſand ages. Believe me; renounce your follies; and I will give to each of you a beautiful picture of Oannes."

The man of Cathay took up the diſcourſe, and ſaid; "I have a great reſpect for the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, the Greeks, the Celtics, Brama, the bull Apis, and the beautiful fiſh Oannes; but I ſhould think that Li, or Tien*, as he is commonly called, is ſuperior to all the bulls in the earth, and all the fiſh in the ſea. I ſhall ſay nothing of my native country; it is as large as Egypt, Chaldea, and the Indies put together. Neither ſhall I diſpute about the antiquity of our nation; becauſe it is of little conſequence whether we are ancient or not; it is enough if we are happy; but, were it neceſſary to ſpeak of almanacs, I could ſay that all Aſia takes ours; and that we had very good ones before Arithmetic was known in Chaldea."

"Ignorant men, as ye all are, (ſaid the Greek;) do you not know that Chaos is the father of all; and that form and matter have put the world into its preſent condition?" The Greek ſpoke for a long time; but was at laſt interrupted by the Celtic, who, having drank pretty deeply while the reſt were diſputing, imagined he was now more knowing than all the others, and ſaid with an oath, that there were none but Teu-

* Chineſe words. The firſt properly ſignifies natural light, or reaſon; and the laſt heaven, or god.

Teutat † and the miſletoe of the oak that were worth the trouble of a diſpute; that, for his own part, he had always ſome miſletoe in his pocket; and that the Scythians, his anceſtors, were the only men of merit that had ever appeared in the world; that it was true they had ſometimes eaten human fleſh, but that, notwithſtanding that circumſtance, his nation deſerved to be held in great eſteem; and that, in fine, if any one ſpoke ill of Teutat, he would teach him better manners. The quarrel was now become warm; and Setoc ſaw the table ready to be ſtained with blood. Zadig, who had been ſilent during the whole diſpute, aroſe at laſt. He firſt addreſſed himſelf to the Celtic, as the moſt furious of all the diſputants: he told him that he had reaſon on his ſide, and begged a few miſletoes. He then praiſed the Greek for his eloquence; and ſoftened all their exaſperated ſpirits. He ſaid but little to the man of Cathay, becauſe he had been the moſt reaſonable of them all. At laſt he ſaid; "You were going, my friends, to quarrel about nothing; for you are all of one mind." At this word they all cried out together. "Is it not true, (ſaid he to the Celtic) that you adore not this miſletoe, but him that made both the miſletoe and the oak?" "Moſt undoubtedly, replied the Celtic. "And thou, Mr. Egyptian, doſt thou not revere, in a certain bull, him who gave the bulls?" "Yes," ſaid the Egyptian. "The fiſh Oannes (continued he) muſt yield to him who made the ſea and the fiſhes. The Indian and the Cathanian (added he) acknowledge, like you, a firſt principle. I did not fully comprehend the admirable things that were ſaid by the Greek; but I am ſure he will admit a ſuperior being, on whom form and matter depend." The Greek, whom they all admired, ſaid that Zadig had exactly taken his meaning. "You are all then (replied Zadig) of one opinion; and have no

† Teutat is the ſame with Mercury. *Teut*, in the Celtic language, ſignifies People, and *tat* a Father. The word Mercury, according to Pezron, comes from the Gauliſh words *merces* and *ur*, the firſt importing Merchandize; the other ſignifying a Man; very little different from the Latin words *merx* and *vir*.

no cauſe to quarrel. All the company embraced him. Setoc, after having ſold his commodities at a very high price, returned to his own tribe with his friend Zadig; who learned, upon his arrival, that he had been tried in his abſence, and was now going to be burnt by a ſlow fire*.

The RENDEZVOUS.

DURING his journey to Balzora, the prieſts of the ſtars had reſolved to puniſh him. The precious ſtones and ornaments of the young widows whom they ſent to the funeral pile belonged to them of right; and the leaſt they could now do, was to burn Zadig, for the ill office he had done them. Accordingly they accuſed him of entertaining erroneous ſentiments of the heavenly hoſt. They depoſed againſt him, and ſwore, that they had heard him ſay, that the ſtars did not ſet in the ſea. This horrid blaſphemy made the judges tremble; they were ready to tear their garments upon hearing theſe impious words; and they would certainly have tore them, had Zadig had wherewithal to pay them for new ones. But, in the exceſs of their zeal and indignation, they contented themſelves with condemning him to be burnt by a ſlow fire. Setoc, filled with deſpair at this unhappy event, employed all his intereſt to ſave his friend; but in vain: he was ſoon obliged to hold his peace. The young widow Almona, who had now conceived a great fondneſs for life, for which ſhe was obliged to Zadig, reſolved to deliver him from the funeral pile, of the abuſe of which he had fully convinced her. She revolved the ſcheme in her own mind, without imparting it to any perſon whatever. Zadig was to be executed the next day: if ſhe could ſave him at all, ſhe muſt do it that very night; and the method taken by this charitable and prudent lady was as follows:

She

* This is levelled againſt the inquiſition.

She perfumed herſelf; ſhe heightened her beauty by the richeſt and gayeſt apparel; and went to demand a private audience of the chief prieſt of the ſtars. As ſoon as ſhe was introduced to the venerable old man, ſhe addreſſed him in theſe terms: "Eldeſt ſon of the great bear; brother of the bull; and couſin of the great dog; (ſuch were the titles of this pontiff) I come to acquaint thee with my ſcruples. I am much afraid that I have committed a henious crime in not burning myſelf on the funeral pile of my dear huſband; for, indeed, what had I worth preſerving? periſhable fleſh, thou ſeeſt, that is already entirely withered." So ſaying, ſhe drew up her long ſleeves of ſilk, and ſhewed her naked arms, which were of an elegant ſhape and a dazzling whiteneſs. "Thou ſeeſt (ſaid ſhe) that theſe are little worth." The prieſt found in his heart that they were worth a great deal; his eyes ſaid ſo, and his mouth confirmed it: he ſwore that he had never in his life ſeen ſuch beautiful arms. "Alas! (ſaid the widow) my arms, perhaps, are not ſo bad as the reſt; but thou wilt confeſs that my neck is not worthy of the leaſt regard." She then diſcovered the moſt charming boſom that nature had ever formed. Compared to it, a roſe-bud on an apple of ivory would have appeared like madder on the box-tree, and the whiteneſs of new-waſhed lambs would have ſeemed of a duſky yellow. Her neck; her large black eyes, languiſhing with the gentle luſtre of a tender fire; her cheeks animated with the fineſt purple, mixed with the whiteneſs of the pureſt milk; her noſe, which had no reſemblance to the tower of mount Lebanon; her lips, like two borders of coral, incloſing the fineſt pearls in the Arabian ſea; all conſpired to make the old man believe that he was but twenty years of age. Almona, ſeeing him enflamed, entreated him to pardon Zadig. "Alas! (ſaid he) my charming lady, ſhould I grant thee his pardon, it would be of no ſervice; as it muſt neceſſarily be ſigned by three others, my brethren." "Sign it, however," ſaid Almona. "With all my heart (ſaid the prieſt) on con-

condition that thy favours ſhall be the price of my ready compliance." "Thou doeſt me too much honour (ſaid Almona;) be pleaſed only to come to my chamber after ſun-ſet, and when the bright ſtar of Sheat ſhall appear in the horizon, thou wilt find me on a roſe coloured ſopha; and thou mayeſt then uſe thy ſervant as thou art able." So ſaying, ſhe departed with the ſignature, and left the old man full of love and diſtruſt of his own abilities. He employed the reſt of the day in bathing; he drank a liquor compoſed of the cinnamon of Ceylon, and of the precious ſpices of Tidor and Ternate; and waited with impatience till the ſtar Sheat ſhould make its appearance.

Mean while, Almona went to the ſecond pontiff. He aſſured her that the ſun, the moon, and all the luminaries of heaven were but glimmering meteors in compariſon of her charms. She aſked the ſame favour of him; and he propoſed to grant it on the ſame terms. She ſuffered herſelf to be overcome; and appointed the ſecond pontiff to meet her at the riſing of the ſtar Algenib. From thence ſhe went to the third and fourth prieſt, always taking their ſignatures, and making an aſſignation from ſtar to ſtar. She then ſent a meſſage to the judges, entreating them to come to her houſe, on an affair of great importance. They obeyed her ſummons. She ſhewed them the four names, and told them at what price the prieſts had ſold the pardon of Zadig. Each of them arrived at the hour appointed. Each was ſurprized at finding his brethren there, but ſtill more at ſeeing the judges, before whom their ſhame was now manifeſt. Zadig was ſaved; and Setoc was ſo charmed with the ingenuity and addreſs of Almona, that he made her his wife. Zadig departed, after having thrown himſelf at the feet of his fair deliverer. Setoc and he took leave of each other with tears in their eyes, ſwearing an eternal friendſhip, and promiſing, that the firſt of them that ſhould acquire a large fortune ſhould ſhare it with the other.

Zadig directed his courſe along the frontiers of Aſſyria, ſtill muſing on the unhappy Aſtarte, and reflect-

ing on the ſeverity of fortune, which ſeemed determined to make him the ſport of her cruelty, and the object of her perſecution. "What, (ſaid he to himſelf) four hundred ounces of gold for having ſeen a bitch! condemned to loſe my head for four bad verſes in praiſe of the king! ready to be ſtrangled, becauſe the queen had ſhoes of the colour of my bonnet! reduced to ſlavery for having ſuccoured a woman who was beat! and on the point of being burnt for having ſaved the lives of all the young widows of Arabia!"

The ROBBER.

ARRIVING on the frontiers which divide Arabia Petræa from Syria, he paſſed by a pretty ſtrong caſtle, from which a party of armed Arabians ſallied forth. They inſtantly ſurrounded him, and cried, "All thou haſt belongs to us, and thy perſon is the property of our maſter." Zadig replied by drawing his ſword; his ſervant, who was a man of courage, did the ſame. They killed the firſt Arabians that preſumed to lay hands on them, and, though the number was redoubled, they were not diſmayed, but reſolved to periſh in the conflict. Two men defended themſelves againſt a multitude; and ſuch a combat could not laſt long. The maſter of the caſtle, whoſe name was Arbogad, having obſerved from a window the prodigies of valour performed by Zadig, conceived a high eſteem for this heroic ſtranger. He deſcended in haſte, and went in perſon to call off his men, and deliver the two travellers. "All that paſſes over my lands (ſaid he) belongs to me, as well as what I find upon the lands of others; but thou ſeemeſt to be a man of ſuch undaunted courage, that I will exempt thee from the common law." He then conducted him to his caſtle, ordering his men to treat him well; and in the evening Arbogad ſupped with Zadig. The lord of the caſtle was one of thoſe Arabians who are commonly

monly called robbers; but he now and then performed ſome good actions, amidſt a multitude of bad ones. He robbed with a furious rapacity, and granted favours with great generoſity; intrepid in action, affable in company; a debauchée at table, but gay in his debauchery; and particularly remarkable for his frank and open behaviour. He was highly pleaſed with Zadig, whoſe lively converſation lengthened the repaſt. At laſt Arbogad ſaid to him; "I adviſe thee to enrol thy name in my catalogue; thou canſt not do better; this is not a bad trade; and thou mayeſt one day become what I am at preſent." "May I take the liberty of aſking thee (ſaid Zadig) how long thou haſt followed this noble profeſſion?" "From my moſt tender youth, (replied the lord). I was ſervant to a pretty good-natured Arabian; but could not endure the hardſhips of my ſituation. I was vexed to find that fate had given me no ſhare of the earth, which equally belongs to all men. I imparted the cauſe of my uneaſineſs to an old Arabian, who ſaid to me; 'My ſon, 'do not deſpair; there was once a grain of ſand that 'lamented that it was no more than a neglected atom 'in the deſerts; at the end of a few years it became 'a diamond; and it is now the brighteſt ornament in 'the crown of the king of the Indies. 'This diſcourſe made a deep impreſſion on my mind; I was the grain of ſand, and I reſolved to become the diamond. I began by ſtealing two horſes; I ſoon got a party of companions; I put myſelf in a condition to rob ſmall caravans; and thus, by degrees, I deſtroyed the difference which had formerly ſubſiſted between me and other men. I had my ſhare of the good things of this world; and was even recompenſed with uſury for the hardſhips I had ſuffered. I was greatly reſpected; and became the captain of a band of robbers. I ſeized this caſtle by force. The ſatrape of Syria had a mind to diſpoſſeſs me of it; but I was too rich to have any thing to fear. I gave the ſatrape a handſome preſent, by which means I preſerved my caſtle, and increaſed my poſſeſſions. He even appointed me treaſurer of the

tributes which Arabia Petræa pays to the king of kings. I perform my office of receiver with great punctuality; but take the freedom to diſpenſe with that of pay-maſter.

The grand Defterham of Babylon ſent hither a petty ſatrape in the name of king Moabdar, to have me ſtrangled. This man arrived with his orders: I was appriſed of all; I cauſed to be ſtrangled in his preſence the four perſons he had brought with him to draw the nooſe; after which I aſked him how much his commiſſion of ſtrangling me might be worth. He replied, that his fees would amount to above three hundred pieces of gold. I then convinced him that he might gain more by ſtaying with me. I made him an inferior robber; and he is now one of my beſt and richeſt officers. If thou wilt take my advice, thy ſucceſs may be equal to his; never was there a better ſeaſon for plunder, ſince king Moabdar is killed, and all Babylon thrown into confuſion."

"Moabdar killed, (ſaid Zadig;) and what is become of queen Aſtarte?" "I know not, (replied Arbogad). All I know is, that Moabdar loſt his ſenſes, and was killed; that Babylon is a ſcene of diſorder and bloodſhed; that all the empire is deſolated; that there are ſome fine ſtrokes to be ſtruck yet; and that, for my own part, I have ſtruck ſome that are admirable." "But the queen (ſaid Zadig;) for heaven's ſake, knoweſt thou nothing of the queen's fate?" "Yes, (replied he) I have heard ſomething of a prince of Hircania; if ſhe was not killed in the tumult, ſhe is probably one of his concubines; but I am much fonder of booty than news. I have taken ſeveral women in my excurſions; but I keep none of them: I ſell them at a high price, when they are beautiful, without inquiring who they are. In commodities of this kind rank makes no difference, and a queen that is ugly will never find a merchant. Perhaps I may have ſold queen Aſtarte; perhaps ſhe is dead; but, be it as it will, it is of little conſequence to me, and, I ſhould imagine, of as little to thee." So ſaying, he drank a large draught, which threw

threw all his ideas into ſuch confuſion, that Zadig could obtain no farther information.

Zadig remained for ſome time without ſpeech, ſenſe, or motion. Arbogad continued drinking; told ſtories; conſtantly repeated that he was the happieſt man in the world; and exhorted Zadig to put himſelf in the ſame condition. At laſt the ſoporiferous fumes of the wine lulled him into a gentle repoſe. Zadig paſſed the night in the moſt violent perturbation. "What, (ſaid he) did the king loſe his ſenſes? and is he killed? I cannot help lamenting his fate. The empire is rent in pieces: and this robber is happy O fortune! O deſtiny! A robber is happy, and the moſt beautiful of nature's works hath, perhaps, periſhed in a barbarous manner, or lives in a ſtate worſe than death. O Aſtarte! what is become of thee?"

At day-break, he queſtioned all thoſe he met in the caſtle; but they were all buſy; and he received no anſwer. During the night they had made a new capture; and they were now employed in dividing the ſpoil. All he could obtain in this hurry and confuſion was an opportunity of departing, which he immediately embraced, plunged deeper than ever in the moſt gloomy and mournful reflections.

Zadig proceeded on his journey with a mind full of diſquiet and perplexity, and wholly employed on the unhappy Aſtarte, on the king of Babylon, on his faithful friend Cador, on the happy robber Arbogad, on that capricious woman whom the Babylonians had ſeized on the frontiers of Egypt; in a word, on all the misfortunes and diſappointments he had hitherto ſuffered.

The FISHERMAN.

AT a few leagues diſtance from Arbogad's caſtle he came to the banks of a ſmall river, ſtill deploring his fate, and conſidering himſelf as the moſt wretched of mankind. He ſaw a fiſherman lying on the brink of the river, ſcarcely holding in his weak and feeble hand a net, which he ſeemed ready to drop, and lifting up his eyes to heaven.

"I am certainly, (ſaid the fiſherman,) the moſt unhappy man in the world. I was univerſally allowed to be the moſt famous dealer in cream-cheeſe in Babylon, and yet I am ruined. I had the moſt handſome wife that any man in my ſtation could have; and by her I have been betrayed. I had ſtill left a paltry houſe, and that I have ſeen pillaged and deſtroyed. At laſt I took refuge in this cottage, where I have no other reſource than fiſhing, and yet I cannot catch a ſingle fiſh. Oh my net! no more will I throw thee into the water; I will throw myſelf in thy place." So ſaying, he aroſe and advanced forward, in the attitude of a man ready to throw himſelf into the river, and thus finiſh this life.

"What, ſaid Zadig to himſelf, are there men as wretched as I?" His eagerneſs to ſave the fiſherman's life was as ſudden as this reflection. He runs to him, ſtops him, and ſpeaks to him with a tender and compaſſionate air. It is commonly ſuppoſed that we are leſs miſerable when we have companions in our miſery. This, according to Zoroaſter, does not proceed from malice, but neceſſity. We feel ourſelves inſenſibly drawn to an unhappy perſon, as to one like ourſelves. The joy of the happy would be an inſult; but two men in diſtreſs are like two ſlender trees, which mutually ſupporting each other, fortify themſelves againſt the ſtorm. "Why, ſaid Zadig to the fiſherman, doſt thou ſink under thy misfortunes?" "Becauſe, (replied he,) I ſee no

no means of relief. I was the moſt conſiderable man in the village of Derlback, near Babylon, and with the aſſiſtance of my wife, I made the beſt cream-cheeſe in the empire. Queen Aſtarte and the famous miniſter, Zadig, were extremely fond of them. I had ſent them ſix hundred cheeſes, and one day went to the city to receive my money; but, on my arrival at Babylon, was informed that the queen and Zadig had diſappeared. I ran to the houſe of lord Zadig, whom I had never ſeen; but found there the inferior officers of the grand Deſterham, who, being furniſhed with a royal licence, were plundering it with great loyalty and order. From thence I flew to the queen's kitchen, ſome of the lords of which told me that the queen was dead; ſome ſaid ſhe was in priſon; and others pretended that ſhe had made her eſcape; but they all agreed in aſſuring me that I would not be paid for my cheeſe. I went with my wife to the houſe of lord Orcan, who was one of my cuſtomers, and begged his protection in my preſent diſtreſs. He granted it to my wife; but refuſed it to me. She was whiter than the cream-cheeſes that begun my misfortune; and the luſtre of the Tyrian purple was not more bright than the carnation which animated this whiteneſs. For this reaſon Orcan detained her, and drove me from his houſe. In my deſpair I wrote a letter to my dear wife. She ſaid to the bearer, 'Ha, ha! I know the writer of this a little; I have heard his name mentioned; they ſay he makes excellent cream-cheeſe; deſire him to ſend me ſome, and he ſhall be paid.'

"In my diſtreſs I reſolved to apply to juſtice. I had ſtill ſix ounces of gold remaining: I was obliged to give two to the lawyer whom I conſulted; two to the procurator who undertook my cauſe; and two to the ſecretary of the firſt judge. When all this was done, my buſineſs was not begun; and I had already expended more money than my cheeſe and my wife were worth. I returned to my own village, with an intention to ſell my houſe, in order to enable me to recover my wife.

"My houſe was well worth ſixty ounces of gold; but as my neighbours ſaw that I was poor, and obliged

to ſell it, the firſt to whom I applied, offered me thirty ounces, the ſecond twenty, and the third ten. Bad as theſe offers were, I was ſo blind, that I was going to ſtrike a bargain, when a prince of Hircania came to Babylon, and ravaged all in his way. My houſe was firſt ſacked and then burnt.

"Having thus loſt my money, my wife, and my houſe, I retired into this country, where thou now ſeeſt me. I have endeavoured to gain a ſubſiſtence by fiſhing; but the fiſh make a mock of me as well as the men. I catch none; I die with hunger; and had it not been for thee, auguſt comforter, I ſhould have periſhed in the river."

The fiſherman was not allowed to give this long account without interruption; at every moment, Zadig, moved and tranſported, ſaid; "What knoweſt thou nothing of the queen's fate?" "No, my Lord, replied the fiſherman, but I know that neither the queen nor Zadig have paid me for my cream-cheeſes; that I have loſt my wife, and am now reduced to deſpair." "I flatter myſelf, ſaid Zadig, that thou wilt not loſe all thy money. I have heard of this Zadig; he is an honeſt man; and if he return to Babylon, as he expects, he will give thee more than he owes thee; but with regard to thy wife, who is not ſo honeſt, I adviſe thee not to ſeek to recover her. Believe me, go to Babylon; I ſhall be there before thee, becauſe I am on horſeback, and thou art on foot. Apply to the illuſtrious Cador; tell him that thou haſt met his friend; wait for me at his houſe: go, perhaps thou wilt not always be unhappy.

"O powerful Oromazes! continued he, thou employeſt me to comfort this man; whom wilt thou employ to give me conſolation?" So ſaying, he gave the fiſherman half the money he had brought from Arabia. The fiſherman, ſtruck with ſurprize, and raviſhed with joy, kiſſed the feet of the friend of Cador, and ſaid, "Thou art ſurely an angel ſent from heaven to ſave me!"

Mean

Mean while Zadig continued to make freſh inquiries, and to ſhed tears. "What, my lord, cried the fiſherman, art thou then ſo unhappy, thou who beſtoweſt favours?" "An hundred times more unhappy than thee, replied Zadig." "But how is it poſſible, ſaid the good man, that the giver can be more wretched than the receiver?" "Becauſe, replied Zadig, thy greateſt miſery aroſe from poverty; and mine is ſeated in the heart." "Did Orcan take thy wife from thee?" ſaid the fiſherman. This word recalled to Zadig's mind the whole of his adventures. He repeated the catalogue of his misfortunes, beginning with the queen's bitch, and ending with his arrival at the caſtle of the robber Arbogad. "Ah, ſaid he to the fiſherman, Orcan deſerves to be puniſhed: but it is commonly ſuch men as thoſe that are the favourites of fortune. However, go thou to the houſe of lord Cador, and there wait my arrival." They then parted: the fiſherman walked, thanking heaven for the happineſs of his condition; and Zadig rode, accuſing fortune for the hardneſs of his lot.

The BASILISK.

ARRIVING in a beautiful meadow, he there ſaw ſeveral women, who were ſearching for ſomething with great application. He took the liberty to approach one of them, and to aſk if he might have the honour to aſſiſt them in their ſearch. "Take care that thou doſt not, replied the Syrian, what we are ſearching for can be touched only by women." "Strange, ſaid Zadig, may I preſume to aſk thee what it is that women only are permitted to touch?" "It is a baſiliſk," ſaid ſhe." "A baſiliſk, madam! and for what purpoſe, pray, doſt thou ſeek for a baſiliſk?" "It is for our lord and maſter Ogul, whoſe cattle thou ſeeſt on the bank of that river at the end of the meadow.

We are his moſt humble ſlaves. The lord Ogul is ſick. His phyſician hath ordered him to eat a baſiliſk, ſtewed in roſe-water; and as it is a very rare animal, and can only be taken by women, the lord Ogul hath promiſed to chooſe for his well-beloved wife the woman that ſhall bring him a baſiliſk: let me go on in my ſearch; for thou ſeeſt what I ſhall loſe, if I am prevented by my companions.

Zadig left her and the other Aſſyrians to ſearch for their baſiliſk, and continued to walk in the meadow; when coming to the brink of a ſmall rivulet, he found another lady lying on the graſs, and who was not ſearching for any thing. Her perſon ſeemed to be majeſtic; but her face was covered with a veil. She was inclined towards the rivulet, and profound ſighs proceeded from her mouth. In her hand ſhe held a ſmall rod with which ſhe was tracing characters on the fine ſand that lay between the turf and the brook. Zadig had the curioſity to examine what this woman was writing. He drew near; he ſaw the letter Z, then an A; he was aſtoniſhed: then appeared a D; he ſtarted. But never was ſurprize equal to his, when he ſaw the two laſt letters of his name. He ſtood for ſome time immoveable. At laſt breaking ſilence with a faultering voice, "O generous lady! pardon a ſtranger, an unfortunate man, for preſuming to aſk thee by what ſurpriſing adventure I here find the name of Zadig traced out by thy divine hand." At this voice and theſe words, the lady lifted up her veil with a trembling hand, looked at Zadig, ſent forth a cry of tenderneſs, ſurprize, and joy, and ſinking under the various emotions which at once aſſaulted her ſoul, fell ſpeechleſs into his arms. It was Aſtarte herſelf; it was the queen of Babylon; it was ſhe whom Zadig adored, and whom he had reproached himſelf for adoring; it was ſhe whoſe misfortunes he had ſo deeply lamented, and for whoſe fate he had been ſo anxiouſly concerned. He was for a moment deprived of the uſe of his ſenſes; when he had fixed his eyes on thoſe of Aſtarte, which now began to open again with a langour mixed with confuſion and tenderneſs:

neſs: "O ye immortal powers! cried he, who preſide over the fates of weak mortals, do ye indeed reſtore Aſtarte to me! at what a time, in what a place, and in what a condition do I again behold her?" He fell on his knees before Aſtarte, and laid his face in the duſt of her feet. The queen of Babylon raiſed him up, and made him ſit by her ſide on the brink of the rivulet. She frequently wiped her eyes, from which the tears continued to flow a-freſh: ſhe twenty times reſumed her diſcourſe, which her ſighs as often interrupted: ſhe aſked by what ſtrange accident they were brought together; and ſuddenly prevented his anſwers by other queſtions: ſhe waved the account of her own misfortunes, and deſired to be informed of thoſe of Zadig. At laſt, both of them having a little compoſed the tumult of their ſouls, Zadig acquainted her in a few words by what adventure he was brought into that meadow. "But, O unhappy and reſpectable queen! by what means do I find thee in this lonely place, cloathed in the habit of a ſlave, and accompanied by other female ſlaves, who are ſearching for a baſiliſk, which, by order of the phyſician, is to be ſtewed in roſe-water?"

"While they are ſearching for their baſiliſk, ſaid the fair Aſtarte, I will inform thee of all I have ſuffered, for which heaven has ſufficiently recompenſed me, by reſtoring thee to my ſight. Thou knoweſt that the king, my huſband, was vexed to ſee thee the moſt amiable of mankind; and that for this reaſon, he one night reſolved to ſtrangle thee and poiſon me. Thou knoweſt how heaven permitted my little mute to inform me of the orders of his ſublime majeſty. Hardly had the faithful Cador obliged thee to depart, in obedience to my command, when he ventured to enter my apartment at midnight by a ſecret paſſage. He carried me off, and conducted me to the temple of Oromazes, where the magi, his brother, ſhut me up in that huge ſtatue, whoſe baſe reaches to the foundation of the temple, and whoſe top riſes to the ſummit of the dome. I was there buried in a manner; but was ſerved by the magi,

magi, and ſupplied with all the neceſſaries of life. At break of day his majeſty's apothecary entered my chamber with a potion compoſed of a mixture of henbane, opium, hemlock, black hellebore, and aconite; and another officer went to thine with a bowſtring of blue ſilk. Neither of us were to be found. Cador, the better to deceive the king, pretended to come and accuſe us both. He ſaid that thou hadſt taken the road to the Indies, and I that to Memphis; on which the king's guards were immediately diſpatched in purſuit of us both.

"The couriers who purſued me did not know me. I had hardly ever ſhewn my face to any but thee, and to thee only in the preſence and by the order of my huſband. They conducted themſelves in the purſuit by the deſcription that had been given them of my perſon. On the frontiers of Egypt they met with a woman of the ſame ſtature with me, and poſſeſſed perhaps of greater charms. She was weeping and wandering. They made no doubt but that this woman was the queen of Babylon, and accordingly brought her to Moabdar. Their miſtake at firſt threw the king into a violent paſſion; but having viewed this woman more attentively he found her extremely handſome, and was comforted. She was called Miſſouf. I have ſince been informed, that this name in the Egyptian language, ſignifies the capricious fair one. She was ſo in reality; but ſhe had as much cunning as caprice. She pleaſed Moabdar, and gained ſuch an aſcendency over him as to make him chuſe her for his wife. Her character then began to appear in its true colours. She gave herſelf up, without ſcruple, to all the freaks of a wanton imagination. She would have obliged the chief of the magi, who was old and gouty, to dance before her; and on his refuſal, ſhe perſecuted him with the moſt unrelenting cruelty. She ordered her maſter of the horſe to make her a pye of ſweetmeats. In vain did he repreſent that he was not a paſtry-cook; he was obliged to make it, and loſt his place, becauſe it was baked a little too hard. The poſt of maſter of the horſe

horſe ſhe gave to her dwarf, and that of chancellor to her page. In this manner did ſhe govern Babylon. Every body regretted the loſs of me. The king, who till the moment of his reſolving to poiſon me and ſtrangle thee, had been a tolerably good kind of man, ſeemed now to have drowned all his virtues in his immoderate fondneſs for this capricious fair one. He came to the temple on the great day of the feaſt held in honour of the ſacred fire. I ſaw him implore the gods in behalf of Miſſouf, at the feet of the ſtatue in which I was incloſed. I raiſed my voice, I cried out, "The gods reject the prayers of a king who is now become a tyrant, and who attempted to murder a reaſonable wife, in order to marry a woman remarkable for nothing but her folly and extravagance." "At theſe words Moabbar was confounded, and his head became diſordered. The oracle I had pronounced, and the tyranny of Miſſouf, conſpired to deprive him of his judgment, and in a few days his reaſon entirely forſook him.

"His madneſs, which ſeemed to be the judgment of heaven, was the ſignal to a revolt. The people roſe, and ran to arms; and Babylon, which had been ſo long immerſed in idleneſs and effeminacy, became the theatre of a bloody, civil war. I was taken from the heart of my ſtatue, and placed at the head of a party. Cador flew to Memphis, to bring thee back to Babylon. The prince of Hircania, informed of theſe fatal events, returned with his army, and made a third party in Chaldæa. He attacked the king, who fled before him with his capricious Egyptian. Moabdar died pierced with wounds. Miſſouf fell into the hands of the conqueror. I myſelf had the misfortune to be taken by a party of Hircanians, who conducted me to their prince's tent, at the very moment that Miſſouf was brought before him. Thou wilt doubtleſs be pleaſed to hear that the prince thought me more beautiful than the Egyptian; but thou wilt be ſorry to be informed that he deſigned me for his ſeraglio. He told me, with a blunt and reſolute air, that as ſoon as he had finiſhed a military expedition, which he was juſt going to undertake, he would

would come to me. Judge how great muſt have been my grief. My ties with Moabdar were already diſſolved; I might have been the wife of Zadig; and I was fallen into the hands of a barbarian. I anſwered him with all the pride which my high rank and noble ſentiments could inſpire. I had always heard it affirmed, that heaven ſtamped on perſons of my condition, a mark of grandeur, which, with a ſingle word or glance, could reduce to the lowlineſs of the moſt profound reſpect, thoſe raſh and forward perſons, who preſume to deviate from the rules of politeneſs. I ſpoke like a queen; but was treated like a maid-ſervant. The Hircanian, without even deigning to ſpeak to me, told his black eunuch that I was impertinent, but that he thought me handſome. He ordered him to take care of me, and to put me under the regimen of favourites, that ſo my complexion being improved, I might be the more worthy of his favours, when he ſhould be at leiſure to honour me with them. I told him, that, rather than ſubmit to his deſires, I would put an end to my life. He replied with a ſmile, that women, he believed, were not ſo blood-thirſty; and that he was accuſtomed to ſuch violent expreſſions; and then left me with the air of a man who had juſt put another parrot into his aviary. What a ſtate for the firſt queen of the univerſe, and, what is more, for a heart devoted to Zadig!"

At theſe words Zadig threw himſelf at her feet, and bathed them with his tears. Aſtarte raiſed him with great tenderneſs, and thus continued her ſtory. "I now ſaw myſelf in the power of a barbarian, and rival to the fooliſh woman with whom I was confined. She gave me an account of her adventures in Egypt. From the deſcription ſhe gave of your perſon, from the time, from the dromedary on which you were mounted, and from every other circumſtance, I inferred that Zadig was the man who had fought for her. I doubted not but that you was at Memphis, and therefore reſolved to repair thither. Beautiful Miſſouf, ſaid I, thou art more handſome than I, and will pleaſe the prince of Hircania much better. Aſſiſt me in contriving

ing the means of my escape; thou wilt then reign alone; thou wilt at once make me happy, and rid thyself of a rival. Missouf concerted with me the means of my flight; and I departed secretly with a female Egyptian slave.

"As I approached the frontiers of Arabia, a famous robber, named Arbogad, seized me, and sold me to some merchants, who brought me to this castle, where lord Ogul resides. He bought me without knowing who I was. He is a voluptuary, ambitious of nothing but good living, and thinks that God sent him into the world for no other purpose than to sit at table. He is so extremely corpulent, that he is always in danger of suffocation. His physician, who has but little credit with him when he has a good digestion, governs him with a despotic sway when he has eat too much. He has persuaded him that a basilisk stewed in rose-water will effect a complete cure. The lord Ogul hath promised his hand to the female slave that brings him a basilisk. Thou seest that I leave them to vie with each other in meriting this honour, and never was I less desirous of finding the basilisk than since heaven hath restored thee to my sight."

This account was succeeded by a long conversation between Astarte and Zadig, consisting of every thing that their long suppressed sentiments, their great sufferings, and their mutual love could inspire into hearts the most noble and tender; and the genii, who preside over love, carried their words to the sphere of Venus.

The women returned to Ogul without having found the basilisk. Zadig was introduced to this mighty lord, and spoke to him in the following terms: "May immortal health descend from heaven to bless all thy days! I am a physician: at the first report of thy indisposition I flew to thy castle, and have now brought thee a basilisk stewed in rose water. Not that I pretend to marry thee. All I ask is the liberty of a Babylonian slave, who hath been in thy possession for a few days; and, if I should not

be

be ſo happy as to cure thee, magnificent lord Ogul, I conſent to remain a ſlave in her place."

The propoſal was accepted. Aſtarte ſet out for Babylon with Zadig's ſervant, promiſing, immediately upon her arrival, to ſend a courier to inform him of all that had happened. Their parting was as tender as their meeting. The moment of meeting, and that of parting are the two greateſt epochas of life, as ſayeth the great book of Zend. Zadig loved the queen, with as much ardour as he profeſſed; and the queen loved Zadig more than ſhe thought proper to acknowledge.

Mean while Zadig ſpoke thus to Ogul: "My lord, my baſiliſk is not to be eaten; all its virtue muſt enter through thy pores. I have incloſed it in a little ball, blown up and covered with a fine ſkin. Thou muſt ſtrike this ball with all thy might, and I muſt ſtrike it back for a conſiderable time; and by obſerving this regimen for a few days, thou wilt ſee the effects of my art." The firſt day, Ogul was out of breath, and thought he ſhould have died with fatigue. The ſecond, he was leſs fatigued, and ſlept better. In eight days he recovered all the ſtrength, all the health, all the agility and cheerfulneſs of his moſt agreeable years.—"Thou haſt played at ball, and haſt been temperate, ſaid Zadig, know that there is no ſuch thing in nature as a baſiliſk; that temperance and exerciſe are the two great preſervatives of health, and that the art of reconciling intemperance and health is as chimerical as the philoſopher's ſtone, judicial aſtrology, or the theology of the magi."

Ogul's firſt phyſician obſerving how dangerous this man might prove to the medical art, formed a deſign, in conjunction with the apothecary, to ſend Zadig to ſearch for a baſiliſk in the other world. Thus, after having ſuffered ſuch a long train of calamities on account of his good actions, he was now upon the point of loſing his life for curing a gluttonous lord. He was invited to an excellent dinner; and was to have been poiſoned in the ſecond courſe; but, during the firſt, he

he happily received a courier from the fair Aſtarte. — "When one is beloved by a beautiful woman, ſays the great Zoroaſter, he hath always the good fortune to extricate himſelf out of every kind of difficulty and danger."

The COMBATS.

THE queen was received at Babylon with all thoſe tranſports of joy, which are ever felt on the return of a beautiful princeſs who hath been involved in calamities. Babylon was now in greater tranquillity. The prince of Hircania had been killed in battle. The victorious Babylonians declared, that the queen ſhould marry the man whom they ſhould chuſe for their ſovereign. They were reſolved that the firſt place in the world, that of being huſband to Aſtarte and king of Babylon, ſhould not depend on cabals and intrigues. They ſwore to acknowledge for king the man who, upon trial, ſhould be found to be poſſeſſed of the greateſt valour and the greateſt wiſdom. Accordingly, at the diſtance of a few leagues from the city, a ſpacious place was marked out for the liſts, ſurrounded with magnificent amphitheatres. Thither the combatants were to repair in complete armour. Each of them had a ſeparate apartment behind the amphitheatres, where they were neither to be ſeen nor known by any one. Each was to encounter four knights; and thoſe that were ſo happy as to conquer four, were then to engage with one another; ſo that he who remained the laſt maſter of the field, would be proclaimed conqueror at the games. Four days after, he was to return with the ſame arms, and to explain the ænigmas propoſed by the magi. If he did not explain the ænigmas, he was not king; and the running at the lances was to begin afreſh, till a man ſhould be found who was conqueror in both theſe combats;

combats; for they were abſolutely determined to have a king poſſeſſed of the greateſt wiſdom and the moſt invincible courage. The queen was all the while to be ſtrictly guarded: ſhe was only allowed to be preſent at the games, and even there ſhe was to be covered with a veil; but was not permitted to ſpeak to any of the competitors, that ſo they might neither receive favour, nor ſuffer injuſtice.

Theſe particulars Aſtarte communicated to her lover, hoping, that, in order to obtain her, he would ſhew himſelf poſſeſſed of greater courage and wiſdom than any other perſon. Zadig ſet out on his journey, beſeeching Venus to fortify his courage and enlighten his underſtanding. He arrived on the banks of the Euphrates on the eve of this great day. He cauſed his device to be inſcribed among thoſe of the combatants, concealing his face and his name, as the law ordained; and then went to repoſe himſelf in the apartment that fell to him by lot. His friend Cador, who, after the fruitleſs ſearch he had made for him in Egypt, was now returned to Babylon, ſent to his tent a complete ſuit of armour, which was a preſent from the queen, as alſo from himſelf, one of the fineſt horſes in Perſia. Zadig preſently perceived that theſe preſents were ſent by Aſtarte; and from thence his courage derived freſh ſtrength, and his love the moſt animating hopes.

Next day, the queen being ſeated under a canopy of jewels, and the amphitheatres filled with all the gentlemen and ladies of rank in Babylon, the combatants appeared in the circus. Each of them came and laid his device at the feet of the grand magi. They drew their devices by lot; and that of Zadig was the laſt. The firſt who advanced was a certain lord, named Itobad, very rich and very vain, but poſſeſſed of little courage, of leſs addreſs, and hardly of any judgment at all. His ſervants had perſuaded him, that ſuch a man as he ought to be king; he had ſaid in reply, "Such a man as I ought to reign;" and thus they had armed him cap-a pee. He wore an armour

of

of gold enamelled with green, a plume of green feathers, and a lance adorned with green ribbands. It was inſtantly perceived by the manner in which Itobad managed his horſe, that it was not for ſuch a man as him that heaven reſerved the ſceptre of Babylon. The firſt knight that ran againſt him threw him out of his ſaddle; the ſecond laid him flat on his horſe's buttocks, with his legs in the air, and his arms extended. Itobad recovered himſelf, but with ſo bad a grace, that the whole amphitheatre burſt out a-laughing. The third knight diſdained to make uſe of his lance; but, making a paſs at him, took him by the right leg, and wheeling him half round, laid him proſtrate on the ſand. The ſquires of the games ran to him laughing, and replaced him in his ſaddle. The fourth combatant took him by the left leg, and tumbled him down on the other ſide. He was conducted back with ſcornful ſhouts to his tent, where, according to the law, he was to paſs the night; and as he limped along, with great difficulty, he ſaid; "What an adventure for ſuch a man as I!"

The other knights acquitted themſelves with greater ability and ſucceſs. Some of them conquered two combatants; a few of them vanquiſhed three; but none but prince Otamus conquered four. At laſt Zadig fought in his turn. He ſucceſſively threw four knights out of their ſaddles, with all the grace imaginable. It then remained to be ſeen who ſhould be conqueror, Otamus or Zadig. The arms of the firſt were gold and blue, with a plume of the ſame colour; thoſe of the laſt were white. The wiſhes of all the ſpectators were divided between the knight in blue and the knight in white. The queen, whoſe heart was in a violent palpitation, offered prayers to heaven for the ſucceſs of the white colour.

The two champions made their paſſes and vaults with ſo much agility; they mutually gave and received ſuch dexterous blows with their lances; and ſat ſo firmly in their ſaddles, that every body but the queen wiſhed there might be two kings in Babylon.——At length, their horſes being tired, and their lances broken,

ken, Zadig had recourſe to this ſtratagem. He paſſes behind the blue prince; ſprings upon the buttocks of his horſe; ſeizes him by the middle; throws him on the earth; places himſelf in the ſaddle; and wheels around Otamus as he lay extended on the ground. All the amphitheatre cried out, "Victory to the white knight!" Otamus riſes in a violent paſſion, and draws his ſword; Zadig leaps from his horſe with his ſabre in his hand. Both of them are now on the ground, engaged in a new combat, where ſtrength and agility triumph by turns. The plumes of their helmets, the ſtuds of their braſſets, and the rings of their armour, are driven to a great diſtance by the violence of a thouſand furious blows. They ſtrike with the point and the edge; to the right to the left; on the head, on the breaſt; they retreat; they advance; they meaſure ſwords; they cloſe; they ſeize each other; they bend like ſerpents; they attack like lions; and the fire every moment flaſhes from their blows. At laſt Zadig, having recovered his ſpirits, ſtops; makes a feint; leaps upon Otamus; throws him on the ground and diſarms him; and Otamus cries out: "It is thou alone, O white knight, that oughteſt to reign over Babylon!" The queen was now at the heighth of her joy. The knight in blue armour, and the knight in white, were conducted each to his own apartment, as well as all the others, according to the intention of the law. Mutes came to wait upon them, and to ſerve them at table. It may be eaſily ſuppoſed that the queen's little mute waited upon Zadig. They were then left to themſelves, to enjoy the ſweets of repoſe till next morning, at which time the conqueror was to bring his device to the grand magi, to compare it with that which he had left, and make himſelf known.

Zadig, though deeply in love, was ſo much fatigued he could not help ſleeping. Itobad, who lay near him, never cloſed his eyes. He aroſe in the night; entered his apartment; took the white arms and the device of Zadig and put his green armour in their place. At break

break of day he went boldly to the grand magi, to declare that ſo great a man as he was conqueror. This was little expected; however, he was proclaimed, while Zadig was ſtill aſleep. Aſtarte, ſurpriſed and filled with deſpair, returned to Babylon. The amphitheatre was almoſt empty, when Zadig awoke; he ſought for his arms; but could find none but the green armour. With this he was obliged to cover himſelf, having nothing elſe near him. Aſtoniſhed and enraged, he put it on in a furious paſſion, and advanced in this equipage.

The people that ſtill remained in the amphitheatre and the circus, received him with hoots and hiſſes. They ſurrounded him, and inſulted him to his face. Never did man ſuffer ſuch cruel mortifications. He loſt his patience; with his ſabre he diſperſed ſuch of the populace as dared to affront; but he knew not what courſe to take. He could not ſee the queen; he could not claim the white armour ſhe had ſent him, without expoſing her; and thus, while ſhe was plunged in grief, he was filled with fury and diſtraction. He walked on the banks of the Euphrates, fully perſuaded that his ſtar had deſtined him to inevitable miſery, and revolving in his mind all his misfortunes, from the adventure of the woman who hated one-eyed men, to that of his armour. "This (ſaid he) is the conſequence of my having ſlept too long. Had I ſlept leſs, I ſhould now have been king of Babylon, and in poſſeſſion of Aſtarté. Knowledge, virtue, and courage, have hitherto ſerved only to make me miſerable." He then let fall ſome ſecret murmurings againſt providence, and was tempted to believe that the world was governed by a cruel deſtiny, which oppreſſed the good, and proſpered knights in green armour. One of the greateſt mortifications was his being obliged to wear the green armour which had expoſed him to ſuch contumelious treatment. A merchant happening to paſs by, he ſold it to him for a trifle, and bought a gown and a long bonnet. In this garb, he proceeded along the banks of the Euphrates,

filled

filled with deſpair, and ſecretly accuſing providence, which thus continued to perſecute him with unremiting ſeverity.

The HERMIT.

WHILE he was thus ſauntering, he met a hermit, whoſe white and venerable beard hung down to his girdle. He held a book in his hand, which he read with great attention. Zadig ſtopt, and made him a profound obeiſance. The hermit returned the compliment with ſuch a noble and engaging air, that Zadig had the curioſity to enter into converſation with him. He aſked him what book it was that he had been reading? "It is the book of deſtinies, (ſaid the hermit;) wouldſt thou chooſe to look into it?" He put the book into the hands of Zadig, who, thoroughly verſed as he was in ſeveral languages, could not decypher a ſingle character of it. This only redoubled his curioſity. "Thou ſeemeſt (ſaid this good father) to be in great diſtreſs." "Alas! (replied Zadig) I have but too much reaſon." "If thou wilt permit me to accompany thee, (reſumed the old man) perhaps I may be of ſome ſervice to thee. I have often poured the balm of conſolation into the bleeding heart of the unhappy." Zadig felt himſelf inſpired with reſpect for the air, the beard, and the book of the hermit. He found, in the courſe of the converſation, that he was poſſeſſed of ſuperior degrees of knowledge. The hermit talked of fate, of juſtice, of morals, of the chief good, of human weakneſs, and of virtue and vice, with ſuch a ſpirited and moving eloquence, that Zadig felt himſelf drawn toward him by an irreſiſtable charm. He earneſtly entreated the favour of his company till their return to Babylon. "I aſk the ſame favour of thee (ſaid the old man;) ſwear

to

to me by Oromazes, that whatever I do thou wilt not leave me for ſome days." Zadig ſwore, and they ſet out together.

In the evening, the two travellers arrived at a ſuperb caſtle. The hermit entreated a hoſpitable reception for himſelf and the young man who accompanied him. The porter, whom one might have eaſily miſtaken for a great lord, introduced them with a kind of diſdainful civility. He preſented them to a principal domeſtic, who ſhewed them his maſter's magnificent apartments. They were admitted to the lower end of the table, without being honoured with the leaſt mark of regard by the lord of the caſtle; but they were ſerved like the reſt, with delicacy and profuſion. They were then preſented with water to waſh their hands, in a golden baſon adorned with emeralds and rubies. At laſt they were conducted to bed in a beautiful apartment; and, in the morning, a domeſtic brought each of them a piece of gold, after which they took their leave and departed.

"The maſter of the houſe (ſaid Zadig as they were proceeding on the journey) appears to be a generous man, though ſomewhat too proud: he nobly performs the duties of hoſpitality." At that inſtant he obſerved, that a kind of large pocket which the hermit had, was filled and diſtended; and upon looking more narrowly, he found that it contained the golden baſon adorned with precious ſtones, which the hermit had ſtolen. He durſt not then take any notice of it; but he was filled with a ſtrange ſurprize.

About noon, the hermit came to the door of a paultry houſe, inhabited by a rich miſer; and begged the favour of an hoſpitable reception for a few hours. An old ſervant, in a tattered garb, received them with a blunt and rude air, and led them into the ſtable, where he gave them ſome rotten olives, mouldy bread, and ſour beer. The hermit eat and drank with as much ſeeming ſatisfaction as he had done the evening before; and then addreſſing himſelf to the old ſervant, who watched them both, to prevent their ſtealing any thing,

thing, and rudely preſſed them to depart, he gave him the two pieces of gold he had received in the morning, and thaanked him for his great civility, "Pray, (added he) allow me to ſpeak to thy maſter." The ſervant, filled with aſtoniſhment, introduced the two travellers. "Magnificent lord! (ſaid the hermit) I cannot but return thee my moſt humble thanks for the noble manner in which thou haſt entertained us. Be pleaſed to accept of this golden baſon, as a ſmall mark of my gratitude." The miſer ſtarted, and was ready to fall backwards; but the hermit, without giving him time to recover from his ſurprize, inſtantly departed with his young fellow-traveller. "Father, (ſaid Zadig) what is the meaning of all this? thou ſeemeſt to me to be entirely different from other men; thou ſtealeſt a golden baſon adorned with precious ſtones, from a lord who received thee magnificently, and giveſt it to a miſer, who treats thee with indignity." "Son, (replied the old man) this magnificent lord, who receives ſtrangers only from vanity and oſtentation, will hereby be rendered more wiſe; and the miſer will learn to practice the duties of hoſpitality. Be ſurpriſed at nothing: but follow me." Zadig knew not as yet, whether he was in company with the moſt fooliſh or the moſt prudent of mankind; but the hermit ſpoke with ſuch an aſcendancy, that Zadig, who was moreover bound by his oath, could not refuſe to follow him.

In the evening, they arrived at a houſe built with equal elegance and ſimplicity, where nothing ſavoured either of prodigality or avarice. The maſter of it was a philoſopher, who had retired from the world; and who cultivated in peace the ſtudy of virtue and wiſdom, without any of that rigid and moroſe ſeverity, ſo commonly to be found in men of his character.—He had choſen to build this country-houſe, in which he received ſtrangers with a generoſity free from oſtentation. He went himſelf to meet the two travellers, whom he led into a commodious apartment, where he deſired them to repoſe themſelves a little. Soon after he came and invited them to a decent and well ordered repaſt,

repaſt, during which he ſpoke with great judgment of the laſt revolutions in Babylon. He ſeemed to be ſtrongly attached to the queen; and wiſhed that Zadig had appeared in the liſts to diſpute the crown: "But the people (added he) do not deſerve to have ſuch a king as Zadig." Zadig bluſhed, and felt his griefs redoubled. They agreed, in the courſe of the converſation, that the things of this world did not always anſwer the wiſhes of the wiſe. The hermit ſtill maintained that the ways of providence were inſcrutable; and that men were in the wrong to judge of a whole, of which they underſtood but the ſmalleſt part.

They talked of the paſſions; "Ah; (ſaid Zadig) how fatal are their effects!" "They are the winds (replied the hermit) that ſwell the ſails of the ſhip; it is true they ſometimes ſink her; but without them ſhe could not ſail at all. The bile makes us ſick and choleric; but without the bile we could not live. Every thing in this world is dangerous; and yet every thing is neceſſary."

The converſation turned on pleaſure; and the hermit proved that it was a preſent beſtowed by the deity: "For (ſaid he) man cannot give himſelf either ſenſations or ideas: he receives all; and pain and pleaſure proceed from a foreign cauſe, as well as his being.

Zadig was ſurpriſed to ſee a man, who had been guilty of ſuch extravagant actions, capable of reaſoning with ſo much judgment and propriety. At laſt, after a converſation equally entertaining and inſtructive, the hoſt led back his two gueſts to their apartment, bleſſing heaven for having ſent him two men poſſeſſed of ſo much wiſdom and virtue. He offered them money, with ſuch an eaſy and noble air as could not poſſibly give any offence. The hermit refuſed it, and ſaid that he muſt now take his leave of him, as he propoſed to ſet out for Babylon before it was light. Their parting was tender; Zadig, eſpecially, felt himſelf filled with eſteem and affection for a man of ſuch an amiable character.

When he and the hermit were alone in their apartment, they ſpent a long time in praiſing their hoſt. At break of day, the old man awakened his companion. "We muſt now depart, (ſaid he;) but while all the family are ſtill aſleep, I will leave this man a mark of my eſteem and affection." So ſaying, he took a candle and ſet fire to the houſe. Zadig, ſtruck with horror, cried aloud, and endeavoured to hinder him from committing ſuch a barbarous action; but the hermit drew him away by a ſuperior force; and the houſe was ſoon in flames. The hermit, who, with his companion, was already at a conſiderable diſtance, looked back to the conflagration with great tranquillity. "Thanks be to God, (ſaid he) the houſe of my dear hoſt is entirely deſtroyed! Happy man!" At theſe words Zadig was at once tempted to burſt out a laughing, to reproach the reverend father, to beat him, and to run away. But he did none of all theſe; for ſtill ſubdued by the powerful aſcendancy of the hermit, he followed him, in ſpite of himſelf, to the next ſtage.

This was at the houſe of a charitable and virtuous widow, who had a nephew fourteen years of age, a handſome and promiſing youth, and her only hope. She performed the honours of her houſe as well as ſhe could. Next day, ſhe ordered her nephew to accompany the ſtrangers to a bridge, which being lately broken down, was become extremely dangerous in paſſing. The young man walked before them with great alacrity. As they were croſſing the bridge, "Come, (ſaid the hermit to the youth) I muſt ſhew my gratitude to thy aunt." He then took him by the hair, and plunged him into the river. The boy ſunk, appeared again on the ſurface of the water, and was ſwallowed up by the current. "O monſter! O thou moſt wicked of mankind!" cryed Zadig. "Thou promiſedſt to behave with greater patience, ſaid the hermit, interrupting him.) Know, that under the ruins of that houſe which providence hath ſet on fire, the maſter hath found an immenſe treaſure; know, that this young

young man, whoſe life providence hath ſhortened, would have aſſaſſinated his aunt in the ſpace of a year, and thee in that of two." "Who told thee ſo, barbarian? (cried Zadig;) and though thou hadſt read this event in thy book of deſtinies, art thou permitted to drown a youth who never did thee any harm?"

While the Babylonian was thus exclaiming, he obſerved that the old man had no longer a beard; and that his countenance aſſumed the features and complexion of youth. The hermit's habit diſappeared; and four beautiful wings covered a majeſtic body reſplendent with light. "O ſent of heaven! O divine angel! (cried Zadig, humbly proſtrating himſelf on the ground) haſt thou then deſcended from the Empyrean, to teach a weak mortal to ſubmit to the eternal decrees of providence?" "Men, (ſaid the angel Jeſrad) judge of all, without knowing any thing; and, of all men, thou beſt deſerveſt to be enlightened." Zadig begged to be permitted to ſpeak: "I diſtruſt myſelf, (ſaid he) but may I preſume to aſk the favour of thee to clear up one doubt that ſtill remains in my mind; would it not have been better to have corrected this youth, and made him virtuous, than to have drowned him?" Had he been virtuous, (replied Jeſrad) and enjoyed a longer life, it would have been his fate to be aſſaſſinated himſelf, together with the wife he would have married, and the child he would have had by her." "But why, (ſaid Zadig) is it neceſſary that there ſhould be crimes and misfortunes, and that theſe misfortunes ſhould fall on the good?" "The wicked (replied Jeſrad) are always unhappy: they ſerve to prove and try the ſmall number of the juſt that are ſcattered through the earth; and there is no evil that is not productive of ſome good." "But, (ſaid Zadig) ſuppoſe there were nothing but good and no evil at all." "Then (replied Jeſrad) this earth would be another earth: the chain of events would be ranged in another order, and directed by wiſdom; but this other order, which would be perfect, can exiſt only in the eternal abode of the Supreme Be-

ing, to which no evil can approach. The Deity hath created millions of worlds, among which there is not one that reſembles another. This immenſe variety is the effect of his immenſe power. There are not two leaves among the trees of the earth, nor two globes in the unlimited expanſe of heaven, that are exactly ſimilar; and all that thou ſeeſt on the little atom in which thou art born, ought to be in its proper time and place, according to the immutable decrees of him who comprehends all. Men think that this child who hath juſt periſhed, is fallen into the water by chance; and that it is by the ſame chance that this houſe is burnt: but there is no ſuch thing as chance; all is either a trial, or a puniſhment, or a reward, or a foreſight. Remember the fiſherman, who thought himſelf the moſt wretched of mankind. Oramazes ſent thee to change his fate. Ceaſe then, frail mortal, to diſpute againſt what thou oughteſt to adore." "But," (ſaid Zadig) ——— As he pronounced the word "But," the angel took his flight towards the tenth ſphere. Zadig on his knees adored providence, and ſubmitted. The angel cried to him from on high, "Direct thy courſe towards Babylon."

The ÆNIGMAS.

ZADIG, entranced as it were, and like a man about whoſe head the thunder had burſt, walked at random. He entered Babylon on the very day when thoſe who had fought at the tournaments were aſſembled in the grand veſtibule of the palace, to explain the ænigmas, and to anſwer the queſtions of the grand magi. All the knights were already arrived, except the knight in green armour. As ſoon as Zadig appeared in the city, the people crowded round him. Every eye was fixed on him; every mouth bleſſed him; and every heart wiſhed him the empire. The envious man ſaw him

him paſs; he frowned and turned aſide. The people conducted him to the place where the aſſembly was held. The queen, who was informed of his arrival, became a prey to the moſt violent agitations of hope and fear. She was filled with anxiety and apprehenſion. She could not comprehend why Zadig was without arms, nor why Itobad wore the white armour. A confuſed murmur aroſe at the ſight of Zadig. They were equally ſurprized and charmed to ſee him; but none but the knights who had fought were permitted to appear in the aſſembly.

"I have fought as well as the other knights, (ſaid Zadig) but another here wears my arms; and while I wait for the honour of proving the truth of my aſſertion, I demand the liberty of preſenting myſelf to explain the ænigmas." The queſtion was put to the vote, and his reputation for probity was ſtill ſo deeply impreſſed in their minds, that they admitted him without ſcruple.

The firſt queſtion propoſed by the grand magi was, "What, of all things in the world, is the longeſt and the ſhorteſt; the ſwifteſt, and the ſloweſt; the moſt diviſible, and the moſt extended; the moſt neglected, and the moſt regretted; without which nothing can be done; which devours all that is little, and enlivens all that is great?"

Itobad was to ſpeak. He replied, that ſo great a man as he did not underſtand ænigmas; and that it was ſufficient for him to have conquered by his ſtrength and valour. Some ſaid that the meaning of the ænigma was fortune; ſome, the earth; and others, the light. Zadig ſaid that it was time: "Nothing (added he) is longer, ſince it is the meaſure of eternity; nothing is ſhorter, ſince it is inſufficient for the accompliſhment of our projects; nothing more ſlow to him that expects; nothing more rapid to him that enjoys; in greatneſs it extends to infinity; in ſmallneſs it is infinitely diviſible; all men neglect it; all regret the loſs of it; nothing can be done without it; it conſigns to oblivion whatever is unworthy of being tranſmitted to

poſterity; and it immortalizes ſuch actions as are truly great." The aſſembly acknowledged that Zadig was in the right.

The next queſtion was, "What is the thing which we receive without thanks, which we enjoy without knowing how, which we give to others when we know not where we are, and which we loſe without perceiving it?"

Every one gave his own explanation. Zadig alone gueſſed that it was life; and explained all the other æenigmas with the ſame facility. Itobad always ſaid that nothing was more eaſy, and that he could have anſwered them with the ſame readineſs, had he choſen to have given himſelf the trouble. Queſtions were then propoſed on juſtice, on the ſovereign good, and on the art of government. Zadig's anſwers were judged to be the moſt ſolid. "What a pity is it (ſaid they) that ſuch a great genius ſhould be ſo bad a knight!"

"Illuſtrious lords, (ſaid Zadig) I have had the honour of conquering in the tournaments. ——— It is to me that the white armour belongs. Lord Itobad took poſſeſſion of it during my ſleep. He probably thought that it would fit him better than the green. I am now ready to prove in your preſence, with my gown and ſword, againſt all that beautiful white armour which he took from me, that it is I who have had the honour of conquering the brave Otamus."

Itobad accepted the challenge with the greateſt confidence. He never doubted, but that, armed as he was with a helmet, a cuiraſs, and braſſarts, he would obtain an eaſy victory over a champion in a cap and a night-gown. Zadig drew his ſword, ſaluting the queen, who looked at him with a mixture of fear and joy. Itobad drew his, without ſaluting any one. He ruſhed upon Zadig, like a man who had nothing to fear. He was ready to cleave him in two. Zadig knew how to ward off his blows, by oppoſing the ſtrongeſt part of his ſword to the weakeſt of that

of

of his adverſary, in ſuch a manner that Itobad's ſword was broken. Upon which Zadig, ſeizing his enemy by the waiſt, threw him on the ground; and fixing the point of his ſword at the extremity of his breaſt-plate; "Suffer thyſelf to be diſarmed, (ſaid he) or thou art a dead man." Itobad, always ſurpriſed at the diſgraces that happened to ſuch a man as he, was obliged to yield to Zadig, who took from him with great compoſure his magnificent helmet, his ſuperb cuiraſs, his fine braſſarts, his ſhining cuiſhes; cloathed himſelf with them; and in this dreſs ran to throw himſelf at the feet of Aſtarte. Cador eaſily proved that the armour belonged to Zadig. He was acknowledged king by the unanimous conſent of the whole nation, and eſpecially by that of Aſtarte, who, after ſo many calamities, now taſted the exquiſite pleaſure of ſeeing her lover worthy, in the eyes of all the world, to be her huſband. Itobad went home to be called lord in his own houſe. Zadig was king, and was happy. He recollected what the angel Jeſrad had ſaid to him. He even remembered the grain of ſand that became a diamond. The queen and Zadig adored providence. He left the capricious beauty, Miſſouf, to run through the world. He ſent in ſearch of the robber, Arbogad, to whom he gave an honourable poſt in his army, promiſing to advance him to the firſt dignities, if he behaved like a true warrior; and threatening to hang him, if he followed the profeſſion of a robber.

Setoc, with the fair Almona, was called from the heart of Arabia, and placed at the head of the commerce of Babylon. Cador was preferred and diſtinguiſhed according to his great ſervices. He was the friend of the king; and the king was then the only monarch on earth that had a friend. The little mute was not forgotten. A fine houſe was given to the fiſherman; and Orcan was condemned to pay him a large ſum of money, and to reſtore him his wife; but the fiſherman, who was now become wiſe, took only the money.

But, neither could the beautiful Semira be comforted, for having believed that Zadig would be blind of an eye; nor did Azora ceaſe to lament her having attempted to cut off his noſe: their griefs, however, he ſoftened by his preſents. The envious man died of rage and ſhame. The empire enjoyed peace, glory, and plenty. This was the happieſt age of the earth, it was governed by love and juſtice. The people bleſſed Zadig, and Zadig bleſſed heaven.

The

The WORLD as it GOES,

The Viſion of BABOUC*.

Written by himſelf.

AMONG the genii, who preſide over the empires of the earth, Ithuriel held one of the firſt ranks, and had the department of Upper Aſia. He one morning deſcended into the abode of Babouc, the Scythian, who dwelt on the banks of the Oxus, and ſaid to him; "Babouc, the follies and vices of the Perſians have drawn upon them our indignation; yeſterday was held an aſſembly of the genii of Upper Aſia, to conſider whether we would chaſtiſe Perſepolis, or deſtroy it entirely. Go to that city; examine every thing; return and give me a faithful account; and, according to thy report, I will then determine whether to correct or extirpate the inhabitants." "But, lord, (ſaid Babouc with great humility) I have never been in Perſia, nor do I know a ſingle perſon in that country." "So much the better, (ſaid the angel) thou wilt be the more impartial; thou haſt received from heaven the ſpirit of diſcernment, to which I now add the power of inſpiring confidence. Go, ſee, hear, obſerve,

* This appears to be a ſatire on the city of Paris.

and fear nothing; thou ſhalt every where meet with a favourable reception.

Babouc mounted his camel, and ſet out with his ſervants. After having travelled ſome days, he met, near the plains of Senaar, the Perſian army, which was going to attack the forces of India. He firſt addreſſed himſelf to a ſoldier, whom he found at a diſtance from the main army; and aſked him what was the occaſion of the war? "By all the gods, (ſaid the ſoldier) I know nothing of the matter. It is none of my buſineſs; my trade is to kill and be killed, to get a livelihood. It is of no conſequence to me whom I ſerve. To-morrow, perhaps, I may go over to the Indian camp; for it is ſaid that they give their ſoldiers nearly half a copper drachma a day more than we have in this curſed ſervice of Perſia: if thou deſireſt to know why we fight, ſpeak to my captain."

Babouc, having given the ſoldier a ſmall preſent, entered the camp. He ſoon became acquainted with the captain, and aſked him the ſubject of the war.—"How canſt thou imagine that I ſhould know it? (ſaid the captain) or of what importance is it to me? I live about two hundred leagues from Perſepolis; I hear that war is declared; I inſtantly leave my family, and, having nothing elſe to do, go, according to our cuſtom, to raiſe my fortune, or to fall by a glorious death."—"But are not thy companions (ſaid Babouc) a little better informed than thou? "No, (ſaid the officer) there are none but our principal ſatrapes, that know the true cauſe of our cutting one another's throats."

Babouc, ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, introduced himſelf to the generals, and ſoon became familiarly acquainted with them. At laſt one of them ſaid; "The cauſe of this war, which for twenty years paſt hath deſolated Aſia, ſprang originally from a quarrel between an eunuch belonging to one of the concubines of the great king of Perſia, and the clerk of a factory belonging to the great king of India. The diſpute was about a claim, which amounted nearly to the thirtieth part of a daric. Our firſt miniſter and that of India maintained the rights of their maſters with becoming dignity:

ty: the diſpute grew warm: both parties ſent into the field an army of a million of ſoldiers. This army muſt be every year recruited with upwards of four hundred thouſand men. Maſſacres, burning of houſes, ruin and devaſtation, are daily multiplied; the univerſe ſuffers; and their mutual animoſity ſtill continues. The firſt miniſters of the two nations frequently proteſt, that they have nothing in view but the happineſs of mankind; and every proteſtation is attended with the deſtruction of a town, or the deſolation of a province*.

Next day, on a report being ſpread that peace was going to be concluded, the Perſian and Indian generals made haſte to come to an engagement. The battle was long and bloody. Babouc beheld every crime, and every abomination: he was witneſs to the arts and ſtratagems of the principal ſatrapes, who did all that lay in their power to expoſe their general to the diſgrace of a defeat. He ſaw officers killed by their own troops, and ſoldiers ſtabbing their already expiring comrades, in order to ſtrip them of a few bloody garments, torn and covered with dirt. He entered the hoſpitals, to which they were conveying the wounded, moſt of whom died through the inhuman negligence of thoſe who were well paid by the king of Perſia to aſſiſt theſe unhappy men. "Are theſe men, (cried Babouc) or are they wild beaſts? Ah! I plainly ſee that Perſepolis will be deſtroyed."

Full of this thought, he went over to the camp of the Indians, where according to the prediction of the genii, he was as well received as in that of the Perſians; but he ſaw there the very ſame crimes which had already filled him with horror. "Oh! (ſaid he to himſelf) if the angel Ithuriel ſhould exterminate the Perſians, the angel of India muſt certainly deſtroy the Indians." But being afterwards more particularly informed of all that paſſed in both armies, he heard of ſuch acts of generoſity, humanity, and greatneſs of ſoul,

* Such indeed are the trifling cauſes, which often produce horror, miſery, and devaſtation.

ſoul, as at once ſurpriſed and charmed him: Unaccountable mortals! as ye are, (cried he) how can you thus unite ſo much baſeneſs and ſo much grandeur, ſo many virtues and ſo many vices."

Mean while the peace was proclaimed; and the generals of the two armies, neither of whom had gained a complete victory, but who, for their own private intereſt, had ſhed the blood of ſo many of their fellow-creatures, went to ſolicit their courts for rewards. The peace was celebrated in public writings, which announced the return of virtue and happineſs to the earth. "God be praiſed, (ſaid Babouc) Perſepolis will now be the abode of ſpotleſs innocence, and will not be deſtroyed, as the cruel genii intended. Let us haſte without delay to this capital of Aſia."

He entered that immenſe city by the ancient gate, which was intirely barbarous, and offended the eye by its diſagreeable ruſticity. All that part of the town ſavoured of the time when it was built; for, notwithſtanding the obſtinacy of men, in praiſing ancient at the expence of modern times, it muſt be owned, that the firſt eſſays in every art are rude and unfiniſhed.

Babouc mingled in a croud of people, compoſed of the moſt naſty and deformed of both ſexes, who were thronging with a ſtupid air into a large and gloomy incloſure. By the conſtant hum; by the geſtures of the people; by the money which ſome perſons gave to others for the liberty of ſitting down, he imagined that he was in a market, where chairs were ſold; but obſerving ſeveral women fall down on their knees, with an appearance of looking directly before them, while in reality they were leering at the men by their ſides, he was ſoon convinced that he was in a temple. Shrill, hearſe, ſavage, and diſcordant voices, made the vault re echo with ill-articulated ſounds, that produced the ſame effect as the braying of wild aſſes, when, in the plains of Pictavia, they anſwer the cornet that calls them

them together. He ſtopped his ears; but he was ready to ſhut his eyes and hold his noſe, when he ſaw ſeveral labourers enter into the temple with crows and ſpades, who removed a large ſtone, and threw up the earth on both ſides, from whence exhaled a peſtilential vapour: at laſt ſome others approached, depoſited a dead body in the opening, and replaced the ſtone upon it. "What (cried Babouc) do theſe people bury their dead in the place where they adore the Deity? What! are their temples paved with carcaſes? I am no longer ſurprized at thoſe peſtilential diſeaſes* that frequently depopulate Perſepolis. The putrefaction of the dead, and the infected breaths of ſuch numbers of the living, aſſembled and crowded together in the ſame place, are ſufficient to poiſon the whole terreſtrial globe. Oh! what an abominable city is Perſepolis! The angels probably intend to deſtroy it, in order to build a more beautiful one in its place, and to people it with inhabitants who are more virtuous, and better fingers. Providence may have its reaſons for ſo doing; to its diſpoſal let us leave all future events."

❁ ❁ ❁ ❁ ❁ ❁

Mean while the ſun approached his meridian height. Babouc was to dine at the other end of the city with a lady, for whom her huſband, an officer in the army, had given him ſome letters: but he firſt took ſeveral turns in Perſepolis; where he ſaw other temples, better built and more richly adorned, filled with a polite audience,

* Indeed one would imagine that the European churches, eſpecially in this kingdom, had been contrived in order to diſguſt the people, and deter them from public worſhip. The chilling dampneſs which reigns in every church, eſpecially in the winter, is not more pernicious to the health, than the earthy, cadaverous ſmell is to the ſenſe; and the eye is entertained with a variety of funeral epitaphs and ornaments, which cannot fail to excite ſuperſtitious horror, in minds naturally ſuſceptible of gloomy impreſſions.

dience, and reſounding with harmonious muſic; he beheld public fountains, which, tho' ill-plac ed, ſtruck the eye by their beauty; ſquares where the beſt kings that had governed Perſia ſeemed to breath in bronze, and others where he heard the people crying out; "When ſhall we ſee our beloved maſter?" He admired the magnificent bridges built over the river; the ſuperb and commodious quays; the palaces raiſed on both ſides; and an immenſe houſe, where thouſands of old ſoldiers, covered with ſcars and crowned with victory, offered their daily praiſes to the god of armies †. At laſt he entered the houſe of the lady, who, with a ſet of faſhionable people, waited his company to dinner. The houſe was neat and elegant; the repaſt delicious; the lady young, beautiful, witty, and engaging; and the company worthy of her; and Babouc every moment ſaid to himſelf, "The angel Ithuriel has little regard for the world, or he would never think of deſtroying ſuch a charming city."

In the mean time he obſerved that the lady, who had begun by tenderly aſking news about her huſband, ſpoke ſtill more tenderly to a young magi, towards the concluſion of the repaſt. He ſaw a magiſtrate, who, in preſence of his wife, paid his court with great vivacity to a widow, while that indulgent widow had one arm around the magiſtrate's neck, and held out her other hand to a young citizen, remarkable for his modeſty and graceful appearance. The magiſtrate's wife roſe firſt from table, to go to converſe in an adjoining cloſet with her director, who came too late, and for whom they had waited dinner; and the director, a man of great eloquence, ſpoke to her with ſuch vehemence and holy

† We perceive our author has an eye to the celebrated fountain on the *Pont Neuf*, the Place des Victoires, the two great bridges over the Seine, with the ſtone quays on each ſide, the palace of the Louvre, and the hoſpital for invalids.

holy zeal, that when ſhe returned, her eyes were humid, her cheeks inflamed, her gait irregular, and her voice trembling.

Babouc then began to fear that the genii Ithuriel had but too much reaſon. The talent he poſſeſſed of gaining confidence let him that ſame day into all the ſecrets of the lady. She confeſſed to him her affection for the young magi, and aſſured him that in all the houſes in Perſepolis, he would meet with much the ſame behaviour as he had found in hers. Babouc concluded that ſuch a ſociety could not poſſibly ſubſiſt; that jealouſy, diſcord, and vengeance, muſt deſolate every houſe; that tears and blood muſt be daily ſhed; that the huſbands muſt certainly kill the galants of the wives, or be killed by them; and, in fine, that Ithuriel would do well to deſtroy immediately a city abandoned to continual diſaſters.

Such were the gloomy ideas that poſſeſſed his mind, when a grave man in a black gown appeared at the gate, and humbly begged to ſpeak to the young magiſtrate. This ſtripling, without riſing or taking the leaſt notice of the old gentleman, gave him ſome papers, with a haughty and careleſs air, and then diſmiſſed him. Babouc aſked who this man was. The miſtreſs of the houſe ſaid to him in a low voice, "He is one of the beſt advocates in the city, and hath ſtudied the law theſe fifty years. The other, who is but twenty-five years of age, and has only been a ſatrape of the law for two days, hath ordered him to make an extract of a proceſs he is going to determine, though he has not as yet examined it." "This giddy youth acts wiſely, ſaid Babouc, in aſking counſel of an old man. But why is not the old man himſelf the judge?" "Thou art ſurely in jeſt, ſaid they; thoſe, who have grown old in laborious and inferior poſts, are never raiſed to places of dignity. This young man has a great poſt, becauſe his father is rich; and the right of diſpenſing juſtice is purchaſed

chaſed here like a farm." "O manners! O unhappy city! cried Babouc, this is the height of anarchy and confuſion. Thoſe who have thus purchaſed the right of judging will doubtleſs ſell their judgments; nothing do I ſee here but an abyſs of iniquity."

While he was thus expreſſing his grief and ſurpriſe, a young warrior, who that very day had returned from the army, ſaid to him, why wouldſt thou not have ſeats in the courts of juſtice to be purchaſed? I myſelf purchaſed the right of braving death at the head of two thouſand men, who are under my command: it has this year coſt me forty thouſand darics of gold to lye on the earth thirty nights ſucceſſively in a red dreſs, and at laſt to receive two wounds with an arrow, of which I ſtill feel the ſmart. If I ruin myſelf to ſerve the emperor of Perſia, whom I never ſaw, the ſatrape of the law may well pay ſomething for enjoying the pleaſure of giving audience to pleaders." Babouc was filled with indignation, and could not help condemning a country, where the higheſt poſts in the army and the law were expoſed to ſale. He at once concluded, that the inhabitants muſt be entirely ignorant of the art of war, and the laws of equity; and that though Ithuriel ſhould not deſtroy them, they muſt ſoon be ruined by their deteſtable adminiſtration.

He was ſtill further confirmed in his bad opinion by the arrival of a fat man, who after ſaluting all the company with great familiarity, went up to the young officer, and ſaid, "I can only lend thee fifty thouſand darics of gold; for indeed the taxes of the empire have this year brought me in but three hundred thouſand." Babouc inquired into the character of this man, who complained of having gained ſo little, and was informed, that in Perſepolis there were forty plebeian kings, who held the empire of Perſia by leaſe, and paid a ſmall tribute to the monarch†.

After

† Theſe are the farmers-general of France who are ſuffered to amaſs vaſt fortunes by fleecing the people, in conſideration of ſupplying the government.

After dinner he went into one of the moſt ſuperb temples in the city, and ſeated himſelf amidſt a crowd of men and women, who were come thither to paſs away the time. A magi appeared in a machine elevated above the heads of the people, and talked a long time of vice and virtue. He divided into ſeveral parts what needed no diviſion at all: he proved methodically what was ſufficiently clear; and he taught what every body knew; he threw himſelf into a paſſion with great compoſure, and went away ſweating, and out of breath. The aſſembly then awoke, and imagined they had been preſent at a very inſtructive diſcourſe. Babouc ſaid, "This man has done his beſt to tire two or three hundred of his fellow-citizens; but his intention was good; and there is nothing in this that ſhould occaſion the deſtruction of Perſepolis."

Upon leaving the aſſembly, he was conducted to a public entertainment, which was exhibited every day in the year. It was in a kind of great hall, at the end of which appeared a palace. The moſt beautiful women in Perſepolis, and the moſt conſiderable ſatrapes were ranged in order, and formed ſo fine a ſpectacle, that Babouc at firſt believed that this was all the entertainment. Two or three perſons, who ſeemed to be kings and queens, ſoon appeared in the veſtibule of their palace. Their language was very different from that of the people; it was meaſured, harmonious, and ſublime. No body ſlept. The audience kept a profound ſilence, which was only interrupted by expreſſions of ſenſibility and admiration. The duty of kings, the love of virtue, and the dangers ariſing from unbridled paſſions were all deſcribed by ſuch lively and affecting ſtrokes, that Babouc ſhed tears. He doubted not but that theſe heroes and heroines, theſe kings and queens whom he had juſt heard, were the preachers of the empire: he even purpoſed to engage Ithuriel to come

come and hear them: confident that such a spectacle would for ever reconcile him to the city†.

As soon as the entertainment was finished, he resolved to visit the principal queen, who had recommended such pure and noble morals in the palace. He desired to be introduced to her majesty, and was led up a narrow stair-case to an ill-furnished apartment in the second story, where he found a woman in a mean dress, who said to him with a noble and pathetic air, "This employment does not afford me a sufficient maintenance; one of the princes whom thou sawest has got me with child; I shall soon be brought to bed, I want money, and without money there is no lying in." Babouc gave her an hundred darics of gold, saying, "Had there been no other evil in the city but this, Ithuriel would have been to blame for being so much offended."

From thence he went to spend the evening at the house of a tradesman who dealt in magnificent trifles. He was conducted thither by a man of sense, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance. He bought whatever pleased his fancy; and the toyman with great politeness sold him every thing for more than it was worth. On his return home his friend shewed him how much he had been cheated. Babouc set down the name of the tradesman in his pocket-book, in order to point him out to Ithuriel as the object of peculiar vengeance on the day when the city should be punished. As he was writing, he heard somebody knock at the door: this was the toyman himself, who came to restore him his purse which he had left by mistake on the counter. "How canst thou, cried Babouc, be so generous and faithful, when thou hast had the assurance to sell me these trifles for four times their value?" "There is not a tradesman, replied the merchant, of ever so little note in the city, that would not have returned thee thy purse: but whoever said that I sold thee these trifles for four times their value, is greatly mistaken; I sold them for ten times their value; and this

† Here he alludes to theatrical entertainments.

this is so true, that were thou to sell them again in a month hence, thou wouldst not get even this tenth part. But nothing is more just; it is the variable fancies of men that set a value on these baubles: it is this fancy that maintains an hundred workmen whom I employ: it is this that gives me a fine house and a handsome chariot and horses: it is this, in fine, that excites industry, encourages taste, promotes circulation, and produces abundance.

"I sell the same trifles to the neighbouring nations at a much higher rate than I have sold them to thee, and by these means I am useful to the empire." Babouc, after having reflected a moment, erased the tradesman's name from his tablets.

Babouc, not knowing as yet what to think of Persepolis, resolved to visit the magi and the men of letters; for, as the one studied wisdom, and the other religion, he hoped that they in conjunction would obtain mercy for the rest of the people. Accordingly, he went next morning into a college of magi. The archimandrite confessed to him, that he had an hundred thousand crowns a-year for having taken the vow of poverty, and that he enjoyed a very extensive empire in virtue of his vow of humility; after which he left him with an inferior brother, who did him the honours of the place.

While the brother was shewing him the magnificence of this house of penitence, a report was spread abroad, that Babouc was come to reform all these houses. He immediately received petitions from each of them, the substance of which was, "Preserve us and destroy all the rest." On hearing their apologies all these societies were absolutely necessary: on hearing their mutual accusations they all deserved to be abolished. He was surprised to find that all the members of these societies were so extremely desirous of edifying the world, that they wished to have it entirely under their dominion.

Soon

Soon after appeared a little man, who was a demi-magi, and who ſaid to him, "I plainly ſee that the work is going to be accompliſhed: for Zerduſt is returned to earth; and the little girls prophecy, pinching themſelves before, and whipping themſelves behind. We therefore implore thy protection againſt the great lama." "What! ſaid Babouc, againſt the royal pontiff, who reſides at Tibet?" "Yes, againſt him himſelf." "What! you are then making war upon him, and raiſing armies?" "No, but he ſays that man is a free agent, and we deny it. We have wrote ſeveral pamphlets againſt him, which he never read; hardly has he heard our name mentioned; he hath only condemned us in the ſame manner as a man orders the trees in his garden to be cleared from caterpillars." Babouc was incenſed at the folly of theſe men who made profeſſion of wiſdom; and at the intrigues of thoſe who had renounced the world; and at the ambition, pride, and avarice of ſuch as taught humility and a diſintereſted ſpirit; from all which he concluded that Ithuriel had good reaſon to deſtroy the whole race.

On his return home, he ſent for ſome new books to alleviate his grief, and, in order to exhilarate his ſpirits, invited ſome men of letters to dine with him; when, like waſps attracted by a pot of honey, there came twice as many as he had deſired. Theſe paraſites were equally eager to eat and to ſpeak; they praiſed two ſorts of perſons, the dead and themſelves; but none of their contemporaries, except the maſter of the houſe. If any of them happened to drop a ſmart and witty expreſſion, the reſt caſt down their eyes and bit their lips, out of mere vexation that it had not been ſaid by themſelves. They had leſs diſſimulation than the magi, becauſe they had not ſuch grand objects of ambition. Each of them behaved at once with all the meanneſs of a valet, and all the dignity of a great man.

man. They ſaid to each other's face the moſt inſulting things, which they took for ſtrokes of wit†. They had ſome knowledge of the deſign of Babouc's commiſſion. One of them entreated him in a low voice to extirpate an author who had not praiſed him ſufficiently about five years before; another requeſted the ruin of a citizen who had never laughed at his comedies; and a third demanded the deſtruction of the academy, becauſe he had not been able to get admitted into it. The repaſt being ended, each of them departed by himſelf; for in the whole crowd there were not two men that could endure the company or converſation of each other, except at the houſes of the rich, who invited them to their tables. Babouc thought that it would be no great loſs to the public if all theſe vermin were deſtroyed in the general cataſtrophe.

Having now got rid of theſe men of letters, he began to read ſome new books, where he diſcovered the true ſpirit by which his gueſts had been actuated. He obſerved with particular indignation, thoſe ſlanderous gazettes, thoſe archieves of bad taſte, dictated by envy, baſeneſs, and hunger; thoſe ungenerous ſatires, where the vulture is treated with lenity, and the dove torn in pieces; and thoſe dry and inſipid romances, filled with characters of women to whom the author was an utter ſtranger.

All theſe deteſtable writings he committed to the flames, and went to paſs the evening in walking. In this excurſion he was introduced to an old man poſſeſſed of great learning, who had not come to increaſe the number of his paraſites. This man of letters always

† This is a good memorandum for thoſe authors who are continually reviling each other in the moſt ſcandalous terms for the entertainment of the public.

ways fled from crowds; he understood human nature; availed himself of his knowledge; and imparted it to others with great discretion. Babouc told him how much he was grieved at what he had seen and read.

"Thou hast read very despicable performances, said the man of letters; but in all times, in all countries, and in all kinds of literature, the bad swarm, and the good are rare. Thou hast received into thy house the very dregs of pedantry; for in all professions those who are least worthy of appearing, are always sure to present themselves with the greatest impudence. The truly wise live among themselves in retirement and tranquillity; and we have still some men and some books worthy of thy attention." While he was thus speaking, they were joined by another man of letters; and the conversation became so entertaining and instructive, so elevated above vulgar prejudices, and so conformable to virtue, that Babouc acknowledged he had never heard the like. "These are men, said he to himself, whom the angel Ithuriel will not presume to touch, or he must be a merciless being indeed *.

Though reconciled to men of letters, he was still enraged against the rest of the nation. "Thou art a stranger, said the judicious person, who was talking to him: abuses present themselves to thy eyes in crowds, while the good, which lies concealed, and which is even sometimes the result of these very abuses, escapes thy observation." He then learned that among men of letters there were some who were free from envy; and that even among the magi themselves there were some men of virtue. In fine, he concluded that these great bodies, which, by their mutual shocks, seemed to threaten their common ruin, were, at bottom, very salutary institutions; that each society of magi was a check upon its rivals; and that though these rivals might differ in some speculative points, they all

* Is not this a compliment which the author pays to Mr. de Voltaire?

all taught the ſame morals, inſtructed the people, and lived in ſubjection to the laws, not unlike to thoſe preceptors who watch over the heir of a family, while the maſter of the houſe watches over them.—He converſed with ſeveral of theſe magi, and found them poſſeſſed of exalted ſouls. He likewiſe learned that even among the fools who pretended to make war on the great lama, there had been ſome men of diſtinguiſhed merit; and, from all theſe particulars, he conjectured that it might be with the manners of Perſepolis as it was with the buildings; ſome of which moved his pity, while others filled him with admiration.

He ſaid to the man of letters; "I plainly ſee that theſe magi, whom I at firſt imagined to be ſo dangerous, are, in reality, extremely uſeful; eſpecially when a wiſe government hinders them from rendering themſelves too neceſſary; but thou wilt at leaſt acknowledge, that your young magiſtrates who purchaſe the office of a judge as ſoon as they can mount a horſe, muſt diſplay in their tribunals the moſt ridiculous impertinence, and the moſt iniquitous perverſeneſs——It would doubtleſs be better to give theſe places gratuitouſly to thoſe old civilians who have ſpent their lives in the ſtudy of the law."

The man of letters replied; "Thou haſt ſeen our army before thy arrival at Perſepolis; thou knoweſt that our young officers fight with great bravery, though they buy their poſts; perhaps thou wilt find that our young magiſtrates do not give wrong deciſions, though they purchaſe the right of diſpenſing juſtice."

He led him next day to the grand tribunal, where an affair of great importance was to be decided. The cauſe was known to all the world. All the old advocates that ſpoke on the ſubject were wavering and unſettled in their opinions; they quoted an hundred laws, none of which were applicable to the queſtion. They conſidered

conſidered the matter in a hundred different lights, but never in its true point of view. The judges were more quick in their deciſion than the advocates in raiſing doubts. They were unanimous in their ſentiments. They decided juſtly, becauſe they followed the light of reaſon; the others reaſoned falſely, becauſe they only conſulted their books.

Babouc concluded that the beſt things frequently aroſe from abuſes. He ſaw the ſame day, that the riches of the receivers of the public revenue, at which he had been ſo much offended, were capable of producing an excellent effect; for the emperor having occaſion for money, he found in an hour by their means what he could not have procured in ſix months by the ordinary methods. He ſaw that thoſe great clouds, ſwelled with the dews of the earth, reſtored in plentiful ſhowers what they had thence derived. Beſides, the children of theſe new gentlemen, who were frequently better educated than thoſe of the moſt ancient families, were ſometimes more uſeful members of ſociety; for he whoſe father hath been a good accomptant may eaſily become a good judge, a brave warrior, and an able ſtateſman *.

Babouc was inſenſibly brought to excuſe the avarice of the farmer of the revenues, who, in reality was not more avaricious than other men, and beſides was extremely neceſſary. He overlooked the folly of thoſe who

* This is in the whole a very weak apology. Certain it is, nothing tends ſo much to the prejudice and diſgrace of religion as the diſputes and want of charity among the clergy; and nothing promotes corruption in a judge ſo much as the practice of riſing to the bench, by means of bribery. Nothing weakens military diſcipline, and diſcourages merit, equal to the ſcandalous ſale of commiſſions, by which a worthleſs upſtart with money in his pocket raiſes himſelf over the head of the brave veteran; and as for the method of farming revenues, it can never be of any ſervice except to a tyrant, who founds his power on the miſery of his people.

who ruined themſelves, in order to obtain a poſt in the law or army; a folly that produces great magiſtrates and heroes. He forgave the envy of men of letters, among whom there were ſome that enlightened the world; and he was reconciled to the ambitious and intrigueing magi, who were poſſeſſed of more great virtues than little vices. But he had ſtill many cauſes of complaint. The gallantries of the ladies eſpecially, and the fatal effects which theſe muſt neceſſarily produce, filled him with fear and terror.

As he was deſirous of prying into the characters of men of every condition, he went to wait on a miniſter of ſtate; but trembled all the way, leſt ſome wife ſhould be aſſaſſinated by her huſband in his preſence. Having arrived at the ſtateſman's, he was obliged to remain two hours in the anti-chamber before his name was ſent in, and two hours more after that was done. In this interval, he reſolved to recommend to the angel Ithuriel both the miniſter and his inſolent porters. The anti-chamber was filled with ladies of every rank, magi of all colours, judges, merchants, officers, and pedants; and all of them complained of the miniſter. The miſer and the uſurer ſaid, "Doubtleſs this man plunders the provinces." The capricious reproached him with fickleneſs; the voluptuary ſaid, "He thinks of nothing but his pleaſure." The factious hoped to ſee him ſoon ruined by a cabal, and the women flattered themſelves that they ſhould ſoon have a younger miniſter.

Babouc heard their converſation, and could not help ſaying, "This is ſurely a happy man; he hath all his enemies in his anti-chamber; he cruſhes with his power thoſe that envy his grandeur; he beholds thoſe who deteſt him grovelling at his feet." At length he was admitted into the preſence chamber, where he ſaw a little old man bending under the weight of years and buſineſs; but ſtill lively and full of ſpirits.

The miniſter was pleaſed with Babouc, and to Babouc he appeared to be a man of great merit. The converſation became intereſting. The miniſter con-

feſſed that he was very unhappy; that he paſſed for rich, while in reality he was poor; that he was believed to be all-powerful, and yet was conſtantly contradicted; that he had obliged none but a parcel of ungrateful wretches; and that, in the courſe of forty years labour, he had hardly enjoyed a moment's reſt. Babouc was moved with his misfortunes; and thought that if this man had been guilty of ſome faults, and Ithuriel had a mind to puniſh him, he ought not to cut him off, but leave him in poſſeſſion of his place.

While Babouc was talking to the miniſter, the beautiful lady, with whom he had dined, entered haſtily, her eyes and her forehead diſcovering the ſymptoms of grief and indignation. She burſt into reproaches againſt the ſtateſman; ſhe ſhed tears; ſhe complained bitterly that her huſband had been refuſed a place to which his birth allowed him to aſpire, and which he had fully merited by his wounds and his ſervice; ſhe expreſſed herſelf with ſuch force; ſhe uttered her complaints with ſuch a graceful air; ſhe overthrew objections with ſo much addreſs, and enforced her arguments with ſo much eloquence, that ſhe did not leave the chamber till ſhe had made her huſband's fortune.

Babouc gave her his hand, and ſaid, "Is it poſſible, madam, that that thou canſt take ſo much pains to ſerve a man whom thou doſt not love, and from whom thou haſt every thing to fear?" "A man whom I do not love! cried ſhe; know, Sir, that my huſband is the beſt friend I have in the world; that there is nothing I would not ſacrifice for him, except my lover; and that he would do any thing for me, except that of leaving his miſtreſs. I muſt introduce you to her acquaintance: ſhe is a charming woman, ſprightly, and ſweet-tempered; we ſup together this very night, with my huſband and my little magi; come and ſhare our joy.

The

The lady conducted Babouc to her own house. The husband, who at last arrived, overwhelmed with grief, received his wife with transports of joy and gratitude. He embraced by turns his wife, his mistress, the little magi, and Babouc. Wit, harmony, cheerfulness, and all the graces, embellished the repast. "Know, said the lady with whom he supped, that those who are sometimes called dishonest women have almost always the merit of very honest men; and to convince thee of this, I invite thee to dine with me to-morrow at the beautiful Theona's. There are some old vestals that tear her character in pieces; but she does more good than all of them together. She would not commit the least act of injustice to gain the greatest advantage: she gives the most generous advice to her lover; she consults only his glory; and he would blush before her, should he let slip any opportunity of doing good; for nothing can more effectually excite a man to the performance of virtuous actions, than to have for the witness and judge of his conduct a mistress whose esteem he wishes to deserve."

Babouc did not fail to keep the appointment. He saw a house where all the pleasures seemed to reign, with Theona at the head of them, who well knew how to preserve the most perfect order. Her easy wit made all around her happy; she pleased almost without intending to do so; she was as amiable as beneficent; and, what enhanced the merit of all her good qualities, she was a beauty.

Babouc, though a Scythian, and sent by a genii, found, that should he continue much longer in Persepolis, he would forget Ithuriel for Theona. He began to grow fond of a city, the inhabitants of which were polite, affable, and beneficent, though fickle, slanderous, and vain. He was much afraid that Persepolis would be condemned. He was even afraid to give in his account.

This, however, he did in the following manner: he caused a little statue, composed of all kinds of metals,

of earth, and ſtones, the moſt precious and the moſt vile, to be caſt by one of the beſt founders in the city, and carried it to Ithuriel. "Wilt thou break, ſaid he, this pretty ſtatue, becauſe it is not wholly compoſed of gold and diamonds?" Ithuriel immediately underſtood his meaning, and reſolved to think no more of puniſhing Perſepolis, but to leave "The world as it goes." "For," ſaid he, "if all is not well, all is paſſable." Thus Perſepolis was ſuffered to remain; nor did Babouc complain like Jonas, who was ſo highly incenſed at the preſervation of Nineveh. But when a man has been three days in a whale's belly, he cannot be ſuppoſed to be in ſo good a humour, as when he has been at an opera, or a comedy, and hath ſupped with good company.

OF

OF THE

ALCORAN,

AND OF

MAHOMET.

MAHOMET, the ſon of Abdalla, was a bold and daring impoſtor. He ſays in his tenth chapter, "Who but God could have compoſed the Alcoran? Thou ſayeſt that that book was forged by Mahomet. Well, try if thou canſt write a chapter in the ſame ſtile, and call to thy aſſiſtance whomſoever thou pleaſeſt." In the ſeventeenth chapter, he breaks out in the following exclamation: "Praiſe be to him, who in the night tranſported his ſervant from the ſacred temple of Mecca to that of Jeruſalem!" A very pretty journey to be ſure; but nothing in compariſon of that other journey which he took the ſame night from planet to planet, nor attended with any of the fiery lights he ſaw in this laſt excurſion.

He pretends that it is a journey of five hundred years from one planet to another; and that in his rapid flight he ſplit the moon in two. His diſciples, who, after his death, carefully collected the verſes of his Koran, expunged his journey to heaven. They were afraid of the wits, and philoſophers. But they

needed not to have been ſo ſcrupulous. They might have truſted to the commentators, who could eaſily have explained this journey. Mahomet's friends muſt certainly have known from experience, that the marvellous with the vulgar ever takes place of reaſon.—The learned object in ſecret, and the people ſoon make them hold their tongue. In expunging however this journey to the planets, they have left a few words relating to his adventure on the Moon; but it is impoſſible to guard againſt every objection.

The Koran is a rhapſody without art, order, or connection. It is pretended, however, that this dull and tedious book is a very fine compoſition: for this I appeal to the Arabians, who affirm, that it is written with an elegance and purity, which no ſucceeding author hath been able to attain. It is a poem, or a kind of rhythmical proſe, containing ſix thouſand verſes. Never was there a poet whoſe work and perſon made ſuch a figure in the world. It is a queſtion among the Muſſulmans, whether the Alcoran exiſted from eternity, or was created by God, and delivered to Mahomet. The doctors have determined in favour of its eternity; and very wiſely too, as this ſame eternity is a much prettier opinion than the other. In dealings with the vulgar, we muſt always embrace that opinion which is moſt incredible.

The monks, who have attacked Mahomet with great virulence, and have ſaid ſo many ſtupid things on the ſubject, alledge that he could not write. But is it to be imagined that a man, who was a merchant, a poet, a legiſlator, and a ſovereign, could not ſign his name? If his book is ill ſuited to our manners, and to our times, it was, nevertheleſs, very well adapted to the manners of his cotemporaries; if it is a bad book in our opinion, in theirs it was a good one; and his religion was ſtill better. It muſt be owned, that he reclaimed almoſt all Aſia from idolatry. He taught the unity of God; and declaimed with great vehemence againſt ſuch as gave him aſſociates.

ſociates. With him the receiving of uſury from ſtrangers is ſtrictly prohibited, and the giving of alms is warmly enjoined. Prayer is of abſolute neceſſity; and reſignation to the eternal decrees is the grand principle that actuates the whole of his theological ſyſtem. A religion ſo ſimple, ſo ſenſible, and taught by a man who was always victorious, could hardly fail of ſubduing a part of the earth. In effect, the Muſſulmans have made as many proſelytes by perſuaſion as by force. They have converted the Indians and the Negroes; and even the Turks, their conquerors, have embraced the religion of the conquered.

Mahomet left in his law a variety of cuſtoms, which he found eſtabliſhed among the Arabians; ſuch as circumciſion, faſting, travelling to Mecca, which was in uſe four thouſand years before his time, together with thoſe ablutions which are ſo neceſſary for the preſervation of health, and cleanlineſs, in a hot country where the uſe of linen was not known; and, in fine, the notion of a laſt judgment, which the magi had always taught, and which had even reached the Arabians. It is ſaid, that as he was one day declaring that people ſhould be raiſed from the dead entirely naked, his wife Aiſhca objected to ſuch a circumſtance as dangerous and immodeſt; "Go to, my dear," ſays he, "nobody will then be inclined to laugh." An angel, according to the Koran, is to weigh the men and women in a large pair of ſcales. This notion is alſo taken from the magi. From them he likewiſe ſtole their narrow bridge, over which they were to paſs after death, and their Jannat, where the elect Muſſulmans ſhall find baths, well furniſhed apartments, good beds, and Houres with large black eyes. He owns it is true, that all theſe ſenſual pleaſures, ſo neceſſary for all thoſe who are to be raiſed with ſenſes, will be greatly inferior to the joy reſulting from the contemplation of the ſupreme Being. He has the humility to acknowledge in his Koran, that even he himſelf ſhall not enter Paradiſe by his own merit, but by the mere good pleaſure of God. It is likewiſe by

the ſame good pleaſure of the Deity, that he ordains that the fifth part of the ſpoil ſhould always belong to the prophet.

It is not true, that he excludes the women from Paradiſe; nor is it likely that a man of his ſagacity and penetration would chuſe to embroil himſelf with that half of the human ſpecies which leads the other. Abulfeda ſays, that a troubleſome old woman, having one day aſked him what ſhe ſhould do to get to Paradiſe, the prophet made her this reply, "My friend, Paradiſe is not for old women." The good woman began to weep, and the prophet ſaid to her by way of conſolation, "there will be no old women then, becauſe they will be all made young again." This comfortable doctrine is confirmed in the fifty-fourth chapter of the Koran.

He forbad the uſe of wine, becauſe one day ſome of his followers came drunk to prayers. He permitted the plurality of wives, conforming himſelf in this reſpect to an immemorial cuſtom among the orientals.

In a word, his civil laws are good, and his doctrines are admirable, as far as they coincide with ours; but the means he employed to propagate them were ſhocking: theſe were fraud and murder.

Some people excuſe him on the ſcore of impoſture, becauſe, ſay they, the Arabs reckoned an hundred and twenty-four thouſand prophets before him; and there could be no great harm in adding one to the number; and men, they add, want to be deceived. But how can you juſtify a man who ſays to you, "believe that I have ſpoken to the angel Gabriel, or I will kill thee?"

How much preferable is a Confucius, the greateſt man that ever lived, without the light of revelation. He employs nothing but reaſon, and never lying, or the ſword: viceroy of a great province, he makes morality and the laws to flouriſh under his government; diſgraced and poor, he continues to teach them: he practiſes them in grandeur, and in abaſement: he renders virtue truly amiable; and he has for his diſciples

ciples the wiſeſt, and moſt ancient people on the earth.

The count de Boulainvilliers, who had a great eſteem for Mahomet, may cry up the Arabians as much as he pleaſes. He cannot deny that they were a nation of robbers. Before Mahomet they robbed in adoring the ſtars: under Mahomet they robbed in the name of God. They had, it is ſaid, the ſimplicity of the heroic times: but what were theſe heroic times? thoſe in which they cut each other's throats for a well, or a ciſtern, as we now do for a province.

The firſt Muſſulmans were inſpired by Mahomet with the rage of enthuſiaſm. Nothing can be more terrible than a people, who, having nothing to loſe, fight at once from a deſire of plunder, and a ſpirit of religion.

It is true, there was not much ceremony in their proceedings. The contract of Mahomet's firſt marriage declares, that inaſmuch as Cadiſhca was in love with him, and he likewiſe with her, they thought proper to join themſelves in the bands of wedlock. There is the ſame ſimplicity in a genealogy which was compoſed for him; and in which he is made to deſcend from Adam, in a direct line, as ſome families of Spain and Scotland have ſince been made to do. Arabia had her Moreri, and her Mercure Galant.

The great prophet ſuffered the diſgrace ſo common to many huſbands; nor ought any one after him complain of his fate. The name of the perſon who enjoyed the favours of his ſecond wife, the beautiful Aiſhca, is well known; he was called Aſſuan. Mahomet behaved with more dignity than Cæſar, who divorced his wife, ſaying that the wife of Cæſar ought not even to be ſuſpected. The prophet would not ſo much as ſuſpect his: he cauſed a chapter of the Koran to deſcend from heaven, to prove that his wife was faithful; and this chapter, as well as the others, was written from all eternity.

People admire him for having raiſed himſelf from a dealer in camels to be a pontiff, a legiſlator, and a monarch;

narch; for having ſubdued Arabia, which was never conquered before; and for having given the firſt ſhock to the Roman empire in the Eaſt, and to that of Perſia. For my part, I admire him for having maintained peace in his own houſe amidſt ſuch a number of wives. He changed the face of a part of Europe, of one half of Aſia, and of almoſt all Africa; and his religion had well nigh ſubdued the univerſe.

Upon what trivial circumſtances do the great revolutions of this world depend! A blow of a ſtone a little more violent than that which he received in his firſt combat, would have given another turn to the courſe of human affairs.

Ali, his ſon-in-law, pretends, that when they were going to inter the prophet, they found him in a poſture in which dead bodies are ſeldom to be ſeen, and that his widow Aiſhca cried out; "Had I known that God had been ſo propitious to the defunct, I would inſtantly have run to him." We may ſay of him, "*Decet imperatorem ſtantem mori.*"

Never was the life of any man written with a more circumſtantial exactneſs than his. The ſmalleſt particulars of it are ſacred. We are diſtinctly informed of all that belonged to him. We are told that he had nine ſwords, three lances, three bows, ſeven cuiraſſes, three bucklers, twelve wives, a white cock, ſeven horſes, two mules, and four camels; not to mention the mare Borac, on which he aſcended to heaven. But her he had only in loan; ſhe was the property of the angel Gabriel.

All his words have been collected. He ſaid, "That the enjoyment of women made him more fervent in prayer." And indeed, why might he not ſay grace, and return thanks in bed, as well as at a table? A fine woman is, at leaſt, as good as a ſupper. It is likewiſe pretended, that he was a great phyſician; if he was, he wanted nothing that could qualify him for deceiving mankind.

On

On the Management of public Shows.

THE kings of France were formerly excommunicated; and from Philip I. to Lewis VIII. they were all laid under this ſentence, with great ſolemnity. The ſame was the fate of all the emperors from Henry IV. to Lewis of Bavaria incluſively. The kings of England too have had a pretty tolerable ſhare of theſe preſents, from the court of Rome. Such was the folly of the times, and that folly coſt the lives of five or ſix hundred thouſand men. At preſent, people are content with excommunicating the repreſentatives of monarchs; I do not mean ambaſſadors, but players, who are kings and queens three or four times a week, and govern the univerſe to get a livelihood.

I hardly know any profeſſion except theirs, and that of theſorcerers, that is now honoured with this mark of diſtinction. But as, during theſe ſixty or eighty years paſt, that ſound philoſophy has enlightened the world, there have been no ſorcerers; the only victims that are now left are, Alexander, Cæſar, Athalia, Polyeuctes, Andromache, Brutus, Zara, and Harlequin.

The chief reaſon aſſigned for this conduct is, that theſe gentlemen and ladies repreſent the paſſions. But if a faithful picture of the human heart deſerves ſuch a horrid ſtigma, a more ſevere puniſhment ſurely ought to be inflicted on ſtatuaries and painters. There are many indecent pictures ſold publickly; whereas there is not a ſingle dramatic piece repreſented, that is not conſiſtent with the ſtricteſt decency. The Venus of Titian, and that of Corregio, are entirely naked, and have always a dangerous influence on the morals of our modeſt youth; but the players only recite the admirable verſes of Cinna for about two hours; and that with the approbation of the magiſtrate, and under the ſanction of the royal authority. Why then are the living

ing perſonages on the ſtage more ſeverely cenſured, than theſe mute comedians on canvas? "*Ut pictura poëſis erit.*" What would Sophocles and Euripedes have ſaid, had they been able to foreſee that a people, who have only ceaſed to be barbarous by imitating them, would one day imprint ſuch a mark of diſgrace on the theatre, which in their time was held in ſuch honour and eſteem?

Æſopus and Roſcius were not Roman ſenators, it is true; but the Flamen never declared them infamous, nor was it ſuſpected that the art of Terence reſembled that of Locuſta*. That great pope and great prince Leo X. to whom we owe the revival of good tragedies and comedies in Europe, and who cauſed ſo many theatrical pieces to be preſented in his palace, with ſo much magnificence, little imagined that ever the time would come, when in a part of Gaul the deſcendents of the Goths and Celtæ would think they had a right to diſgrace what he honoured. Had the cardinal de Richelieu lived who built the hall of the royal palace, and to whom France owes her theatre, he would not have long ſuffered theſe preſumptuous bigots to cover with infamy thoſe, whom he employed to recite his own works.

It was the heretics, it muſt be owned, that firſt began to rail againſt the fineſt of all the arts. Leo X. revived the tragic ſcene; and that was enough to make the pretended reformers call it the work of the Devil. Thus the city of Geneva, and many illuſtrious hamlets in Switzerland, have been an hundred and fifty years without ſuffering a fiddle among them. The Janſeniſts, who now dance on the grave of St. Paris, to the great edification of the neighbours, in the laſt age diſſuaded a princeſs of Conti whom they governed, from ſuffering her ſon to learn to dance, inaſmuch as dancing is a prophane exerciſe. It was neceſſary, however,

* Locuſta was an infamous woman, entertained and protected by Nero for her ſkill in preparing poiſons, which ſhe cauſed to be adminiſtered to Britannicus, and many others.

ever, that he ſhould acquire a genteel air, and underſtand a minuet; but they would by no means allow a violin to be uſed; and the director, by way of accommodation, was at laſt brought to conſent, though with great reluctance, that the prince of Conti ſhould be taught to dance with caſtanets. Some Catholics of a Gothic taſte on this ſide the Mountains began to fear the reproaches of the reformers, and to cry out as loud as they; and thus by degrees was eſtabliſhed in France the cuſtom of ſtigmatizing Cæſar and Pompey, and refuſing certain ceremonies to certain perſons, hired by the king, and acting under the eye of the magiſtrate. People did not think worth while to exclaim againſt this abuſe; for who would chuſe to quarrel with men in power, and with men of the preſent times, for Phædra and the heroes of antiquity? They, therefore, contented themſelves with laughing at the abſurdity of theſe rigorous meaſures, and admiring in the mean time the maſter-pieces of the ſtage.

Rome, from which we have received our catechiſm, does not behave like us. She hath always tempered the laws, as the times and different exigencies required: ſhe hath always taken care to diſtinguiſh between thoſe impudent puppet-ſhews, which were formerly condemned with ſo much reaſon, and the theatrical pieces of Triſſin, and of ſo many biſhops and cardinals, who have contributed to the revival of tragedy. At preſent, plays are acted publickly in ſome religious houſes at Rome. The ladies go to them without ſcandal; nor do they believe, that dialogues repeated by perſons who ſtand upon boards are diabolically infamous. Even the play of George Dandin has been pre ented at Rome by the religious, before a large company of eccleſiaſtics and ladies. The wiſe Romans are particularly careful not to excommunicate thoſe gentlemen who ſing the treble in the Italian operas; for it is enough in all conſcience to be caſtrated in this world, without being likewiſe damned in the other.

In the happy reign of Lewis XIV. there was in all the public ſhews he exhibited a bench, which was called a bench

a bench of biſhops. I myſelf was a witneſs of the importunity with which in the minority of Lewis XV. the cardinal de Fleury, then biſhop of Frejus, was preſſed to revive this cuſtom. Other times, other manners! We are probably wiſer, than when all Europe came to admire our feſtivals, when Richelieu revived the theatre in France, and when Leo X. reſtored the Auguſtan age in Italy. But a time will come when our poſterity, on ſeeing the impertinent work of father le Brun, againſt the art of Sophocles, and the performances of our great men printed in the ſame age, will cry out with wonder, "Is it poſſible that the French can have been guilty of ſuch contradiction; and that the moſt abſurd barbariſm can have thus proudly raiſed its head, againſt the fineſt productions of the human mind?"

St. Thomas Aquinas, whoſe morals were as good as thoſe of Calvin, or father Queſnel; St. Thomas, I ſay, who had never ſeen a good comedy, nor ever beheld any but the moſt wretched actors, imagined, however, that the theatre might be rendered uſeful. He had the good ſenſe to perceive, and the juſtice to acknowledge, the merit of this art, rude and unformed as it then was; and accordingly, he not only permitted but even approved it. St. Charles Barromæus himſelf examined the pieces that were acted at Milan; and authorized them by his approbation and his ſeal.

Who after this would be ſo Gothic as to treat Rodrigues and Chimene as poiſoners? Would to Heaven that theſe barbarians, who are enemies to the fineſt of all the arts, had the piety of Polyeuctus, the clemency of Auguſtus, the virtue of Burrhus, and that they may end their days like the huſband of Alzira!

PRE-

PREFACE.

THE following piece of humour has been ſo frequently printed, that we could not refuſe it a place in this collection. It is an innocent burleſque on a ridiculous book, written by the preſident of an academy *, and publiſhed about the end of the year 1752.———It was a very ſurpriſing thing to ſee a philoſopher aſſert, that there was no other proof of the being of a God, than an Algebraic calculation; that the human ſoul might be exalted to ſuch a degree of perfection, as might be capable of foretelling future events; and that a man might preſerve his life, for three or four hundred years, by ſtopping the pores of his body; together with ſeveral other notions no leſs extravagant. A mathematician of the Hague, having attacked the firſt of theſe propoſitions, and ſhewn it to be extremely falſe, the preſident brought a formal proceſs againſt him before his own academy, and found means to have him condemned as a forger. This piece of injuſtice rouſed the indignation of all the literati of Europe; and gave occaſion to the following pages, in which a conſtant alluſion is kept up to the ſeveral paſſages of the book, which was then the object of public deriſion. The reflections are put into the mouth of a phyſician, until he effects a cure.

A DIS-

* This is a ſort of lampoon upon Mr. de Maupertuis, late preſident of the academy at Berlin, where he and Mr. de Voltaire had ſome perſonal diſputes, that were not much for the honour of philoſophy. *Diatribe*, which we have here rendered diſſertation, is a Greek word ſignifying delay or procraſtination; and *Akakia*, another Greek word, ſignifies ſimplicity.

A DISSERTATION BY DOCTOR AKAKIA,

Phyſician to the Pope.

NOTHING is more common in the preſent age, than for young and ignorant authors to uſher into the world under well-known names works unworthy of the ſuppoſed writers. There are quacks in every profeſſion. One of theſe impoſtors has had the impudence to aſſume the name of the preſident of a moſt illuſtrious academy, in order to vend ſome drugs of a very ſingular nature. It is certain that the reſpectable preſident is not the author of the books which are aſcribed to him; for that admirable philoſopher, who has diſcovered that nature always acts by the moſt ſimple laws, and that ſhe is ever ſparing in the means ſhe employs, would ſurely have ſpared his few readers the trouble of reading the ſame thing twice, firſt in the book entitled his Works; and then in that entitled his Letters. One third, at leaſt, of the latter volume is copied literally from the former. This great man, who is ſo far removed from all ſuppoſition of impoſture, would never have publiſhed letters which were written to no-body, and far leſs would he have fallen into certain numbers which are excuſeable only in a young author.

Though

Though I am fully convinced in my own mind that it is no regard to the intereſt of my profeſſion that now induces me to ſpeak; yet I may take the liberty, I hope, to find fault with this writer for treating phyſicians as he does his bookſellers. He propoſes to ſtarve us to death: he adviſes every one to withold his phyſician's fee, when unhappily the patient does not recover. "We do not pay, ſays he, a painter that hath made a bad picture." O, young man, how unjuſt and unreaſonable you are! Did not the duke of Orleans, regent of France, pay dearly for the daubings with which Coypel adorned the gallery of the Palais Royal? Does a client deprive his lawyer of his juſt fee, becauſe he has loſt his cauſe? A phyſician promiſes his aſſiſtance, and not a cure. He does all that lies in his power, and is paid accordingly. What! would you even be jealous of the phyſicians?

What, think you, would that man ſay, who had, for inſtance, a penſion of twelve hundred ducats for talking of mathematics and metaphyſics, for diſſecting a couple of toads, and making himſelf to be painted with a furred bonnet; what would he ſay, ſhould the treaſurer accoſt him in this ſtrain? "Sir, we muſt deduct one hundred ducats from your ſalary, for having wrote that there are ſtars in the ſhape of millſtones; another hundred for ſaying that a comet will come and rob us of our moon, and even endanger the ſun itſelf; and a hundred ducats more for having fancied that comets, compoſed entirely of gold and diamonds, will fall upon the earth; you are fined in three hundred ducats for having affirmed that the fœtus is formed in the womb of the mother by attraction *; that the left eye attracts the right leg †, &c. We cannot fine you in leſs than four hundred ducats, for having imagined that it is poſſible to diſcover the nature of the human ſoul, by means of opium; and by diſſecting the heads of giants, &c. &c. It is evident, that, by theſe means, the

* In the works and letters of Mr. de M.

† See the Venus Phyſique.

the poor philoſopher would loſe the whole of his penſion: and would he be content, think you, if, after this, the phyſicans ſhould take it in their heads to laugh at him, and to affirm that rewards ought to be given to thoſe only who write uſeful things, and not to ſuch as are remarkable for nothing but an immoderate ambition of diſtinguiſhing themſelves in the world?

This inconſiderate youth reproaches my brother phyſicians with being too timid and diffident in their reſearches. He ſays we are indebted to chance, and to ſavage uncivilized nations for the only ſpecifics that are known; and that the phyſicians have never diſcovered one of them. We muſt inform this ſtripling, that it is chance alone that can teach us what medicines may be extracted from plants. Hippocrates, Boerhaave, Chirac, and Senac, could never have gueſſed at firſt ſight that the Jeſuit's bark would cure a fever; that rhubarb was a purgative; or poppies of a ſoporific nature. It is chance alone that can lead us to a diſcovery of the virtues of plants; and phyſicians can do no more than preſcribe theſe medicines according to the condition of the patient. They have likewiſe invented ſeveral medicines by the aſſiſtance of chemiſtry. They do not promiſe to cure always; but they promiſe to do all in their power to mitigate the pains of their fellow creatures. Did ever this witty youth, who hath treated them with ſo much ſeverity, perform ſuch an important ſervice to mankind, as he who, contrary to all appearance, brought back from the gates of death the mareſchal de Saxe, after the victory of Fontenoy?

Our young philoſopher would have the phyſicians to reduce themſelves to a level with empirics, by baniſhing the theoretical part of their ſcience entirely. What would you think of a man who ſhould diſſuade you from employing architects to build houſes, and adviſe you to make uſe of none but maſons who cut ſtones at random?

He

He likewiſe gives us the wholeſome advice to neglect the ſtudy of anatomy. In this caſe we ſhall have the ſurgeons on our ſide. We are only ſurpriſed that the author, who lies under ſome ſmall obligations to the ſurgeons of Montpellier, for curing him of ſome diſeaſes which require a very intimate knowledge of the interior parts of the head, and of other branches of anatomy, ſhould be ſo extremely ungrateful.

The ſame author, little verſed, it would appear, in hiſtory, ſpeaking on the ſubject of making the puniſhment of criminals more uſeful to the ſtate by trying experiments on their bodies, ſays, that this ſcheme has never been carried into execution. He is ignorant, poor man, of what all the world knows, that in the reign of Lewis XI. the experiment of cutting for the ſtone was made for the firſt time in France, on the body of a man condemned to death; that the late queen of England cauſed them to try the inoculation of the ſmall-pox on four criminals; and that other examples of the ſame nature might be eaſily produced.

But, if our author is ignorant, it muſt be owned that he makes amends for that defect by the flights of a very ſingular imagination. He adviſes us, in quality of phyſician, to employ the effects of the centrifugal force to cure an apoplexy, and would have us to whirl the patient about as the boys do a whirligig. The notion, indeed, is none of his; but he gives it an air of novelty.

He adviſes us to cover the patient's body with roſin, or to pierce his ſkin with needles. If ever he practiſes medicine, and propoſes ſuch remedies, it is likely his patients will take his advice, and not pay their phyſician.

But what is very ſurpriſing is, that this declared enemy of the medical art, who would ſo unmercifully deprive us of our fees, propoſes, by way of accommodation, to ruin the patients. He ordains (for he is deſpotic) that every phyſician ſhould profeſs the cure of one diſeaſe only; ſo that, if a man has the gout, a fever, and a flux, ſore eyes, and a pain in his ear he

he muſt pay five phyſicians inſtead of one. But perhaps his meaning is, that each of us ſhould have only a fifth part of the common fee; another inſtance of his malice. By and by, I imagine we ſhall hear of devotees being adviſed to have a particular director for every vice; one, for a ſerious concern about trifles; one for jealouſy, concealed under a ſerious and imperious air; one for the itch of forming cabals about nothing; and others for other vices: but let us not wander from the ſubject, but return to our brother phyſicians.

"The beſt phyſician," ſays he, is he that reaſons leaſt." He ſeems to have adhered as ſtrictly to this maxim in philoſophy as even father Canaïe did in theology; and yet, in ſpite of his hatred to reaſoning, we can eaſily perceive that he has made ſome profound reflections on the art of prolonging life. In the firſt place, he agrees with all men of ſenſe, (and we ſincerely congratulate him on agreeing with them for once) that our forefathers lived from eight to nine hundred years,

Having then diſcovered by the force of his own genius, and independent of Leibnitz, that "the full growth of a man ſhould be fixed, not at the age of ſtrength and manhood, but at the point of death, he propoſes to ward off this point in the ſame manner as we preſerve eggs, by hindering them from hatching." This, undoubtedly, is a moſt charming ſecret, and we would adviſe him to ſecure to himſelf the honour of the diſcovery in ſome hen-rooſt, or by a criminal ſentence of ſome academy.

From this ſhort account it plainly appears, that if theſe imaginary letters were written by a preſident, it muſt have been by a preſident of Bedlam; and that they are, in fact, as we have already ſaid, the work of a young man who has endeavoured to ſet off his paltry production with the name of a philoſopher reſpected, as is well known, over all Europe, and who has conſented to have himſelf declared a "Great Man." We have ſometimes ſeen at a carnival in Italy Harlequin diſguiſed in the garb of an archbiſhop;

archbiſhop, but we ſoon found it to be Harlequin, by his manner of pronouncing the benediction: ſooner or later truth will prevail: this brings to my mind a fable of Fontaine:

Un petit bout d'oreille échapé par malheur
Découvrit la fourbe & l'arreur.

Here we ſee the whole ears.

All things conſidered, we refer to the Holy Inquiſition the book aſcribed to the preſident; and we ſubmit to the deciſions of that learned tribunal, in which, it is well known, phyſicians have the moſt implicit faith.

Decree of the Inquiſition of Rome.

WE, father Pancratius, &c. inquiſitor for the faith, have read the diſſertation of M. Akakia, phyſician in ordinary to the pope, without comprehending the meaning of the ſaid diſſertation, or finding any thing in it contrary to the faith, or the Decretals.—But we cannot ſay the ſame of the works and letters of the young anonymous author, who hath aſſumed the name of a preſident.

After calling in the direction of the Holy Spirit to our aſſiſtance, we have found in the ſaid works, that is, in the quarto volume of this anonymous author, many propoſitions raſh, ill-ſounding, heretical, or tending to hereſy. We therefore condemn them collectively, ſeparately, and reſpectively.

We eſpecially particularly anathematize the Eſſay on Coſmology, in which the author, blinded by the principles of the children of Belial, and accuſtomed to blame every thing, inſinuates, contrary to the holy ſcriptures, that it is a fault in Providence to allow ſpiders to catch flies; and that there is no other proof of the being of a God than in Z equal to B C, divided by A plus

B, Now theſe characters being drawn from the art of conjuring, and plainly diabolical, we declare them to be repugnant to the Authority of the Holy See.

And as, according to cuſtom, we know nothing of phyſics, metaphyſics, mathematics, &c. we have enjoined reverend profeſſors of philoſophy of the College of Wiſdom to examine the works and letters of the young anonymous author, and to give us a faithful account of the ſame. So help them God.

Judgment of the Profeſſors of the College of Wiſdom.

1. WE declare that the laws relating to the ſhock of bodies perfectly hard, are childiſh and imaginary, inaſmuch as there are no bodies perfectly hard, though there are ſeveral hard minds, upon which we have in vain endeavoured to make an impreſſion.

2. The aſſertion, that "the product of the ſpace multiplied by the velocity is always a minimum," ſeems to be falſe; for this product is ſometimes a maximum, according to the opinion of Leibnitz, and as may be eaſily proved. It would appear that the young author took only one half of M. Leibnitz's idea; and we, therefore acquit him of the guilt of having ever comprehended one whole idea of M. Leibnitz.

3. We likewiſe adhere to the cenſure which M Akakia, phyſician to the pope, and ſo many others, have paſſed on the works of this anonymous author, and eſpecially on the "Venus Phyſique." We adviſe the young author, that when he proceeds with his wife (if he has one) to the work of generation, he will not think that the fœtus is formed in the womb, by means of attraction; and we exhort him, if he commits the ſin of the fleſh, not to envy the lots of ſnails in the act of

of love, nor that of toads *, and to be leſs ambitious of imitating the ſtile of Fontenelle, when riper years ſhall have formed his taſte.

We come now to the examination of the Letters, which, in our opinion, are doubly criminal, as they contain almoſt all that is to be found in the works; and we exhort him not to ſell the ſame goods twice under different names, becauſe it is not conſiſtent with the character of a fair trader, which he ought to maintain.

Examination of the Letters of a young Author diſguiſed under the name of a Preſident.

1. IT may not be improper, in the firſt place, to inform this young author, that foreſight † in man is not called Foreknowledge; that the word Foreknowledge is ſacred to God alone, and denominates that power by which he looks into futurity. He ought to be acquainted with the meaning of words before he ſets himſelf to write. He ought to know that the ſoul does not perceive itſelf: it ſees external objects, but cannot ſee itſelf; ſuch is its preſent condition. The young writer may eaſily correct theſe trifling errors.

2. "It is falſe that "the memory makes us loſe more than we gain by it." We muſt inform this candidate for literary fame, that the memory is the faculty of retaining ideas; that without this faculty we could not even compoſe a bad book, could hardly know any thing at all, would not be able to conduct ourſelves in any ſtation of life, but would be left in a ſtate of abſolute ignorance and ſtupidity. We would therefore recommend

* i. e of a coitus duplex.
† Letters of a native of St. Malo.

recommend it to this young man to improve his memory.

3. We are obliged to declare that the following notion is ridiculous, to wit, "that the ſoul is like a body which recovers its former ſtate after having been put in motion; and that in the ſame manner the ſoul returns to its ſtate of tranquillity or uneaſineſs, which ever of the two be moſt natural to it." The author has not expreſſed himſelf with accuracy. He probably meant to ſay, that every one returns to his natural character; that a man, for inſtance, after having forced himſelf to act the philoſopher for a few days, returns to his ordinary trifles, &c. But ſuch trivial truths as theſe deſerve not to be repeated. It is the misfortune of young men to think that they are capable of giving an air of novelty to the moſt common things, by wrapping them up in obſcure expreſſions.

4. The author is miſtaken in ſaying, that extenſion is no more than a perception of the mind. If ever he applies himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy, he will find that extenſion is not like ſounds and colours, which exiſt only in our ſenſations, as every ſchool-boy knows.

5. With regard to the Germans, whom he undervalues, and treats as dunces in plain terms, he appears to us, in this particular, to be unjuſt and ungrateful: this is not merely to want knowledge, it is to want politeneſs. This young man may probably imagine that he is capable of inventing ſomething after Leibnitz; but we will tell him that it is not to him that we are indebted for the invention of gunpowder.

6. This author, we are afraid, may tempt ſome of his fellow-ſtudents to ſearch for the philoſopher's ſtone; for he ſays, "that, in whatever light we view it, we cannot prove it to be impoſſible." He owns, it is true, that it would be a fooliſh thing for any one to ſquander away his eſtate in ſuch a reſearch; but as in talking of the "ſum of happineſs," he ſays, that we cannot demonſtrate the truth of the Chriſtian religion, which, however,

however, many people profeſs, it may happen *à fortiori* that ſome men may ruin themſelves in ſearching for the grand ſecret, as according to him, it may poſſibly be found.

7. We paſs over ſeveral things that would weary the reader's patience, and are unworthy of the inquiſitor's notice; but we believe he will be greatly ſurpriſed to hear that this young ſtudent is for diſſecting the brains of giants ſix feet high, and of hairy men with tails, the better to diſcover the nature of the human mind; that he propoſes to mollify the ſoul with opium and dreams; and that he undertakes to produce large ſnakes from other ſnakes with dough, and fiſhes with grains of corn. We have taken this opportunity of diverting the inquiſitor.

8. But the inquiſitor will not laugh when he is informed that every man may become a prophet; for the author finds no more difficulty in ſeeing the future than the paſt. He avers that the arguments in favour of judicial aſtrology, are as ſtrong as thoſe againſt it. He then aſſures us, that the perceptions of the paſt, the preſent, and the future, differ only in the greater or leſs activity of the ſoul. He hopes that a little more heat and "exaltation" in the fancy may ſerve to point out the future, as the memory ſhews the paſt.

We are unanimouſly of opinion that his brain is exalted to a very high degree, and that he will ſoon commence a prophet. We cannot as yet determine whether he will be one of the greater or leſſer prophets; but we are much afraid that he will prove a prophet of evil, ſince, even in his treatiſe on happineſs, he talks of nothing but calamities. He ſays, particularly, that all fools are unhappy. We ſend our compliments of condolence to people of this character; — but if his exalted ſoul hath looked into futurity, did it not perceive ſomething ridiculous in the proſpect?

9. He ſeems to be deſirous of going to the ſouthern hemiſphere, though, on reading his book, one would be tempted to think that he had juſt returned from thence, and yet he appears to be ignorant that it is a long time

ſince the country of Frederic Henry, ſituated beyond the fortieth degree of ſouthern latitude, was diſcovered: but we aſſure him before hand, that if, inſtead of going to the ſouthern hemiſphere, he ſhould reſolve to ſail in a direct line to the Arctic Pole, no-body will embark with him.

10. We muſt further inform him, that it will be extremely difficult to make, as he propoſes, a hole that ſhall reach to the centre of the earth (where he probably means to conceal himſelf from the diſgrace to which the publication of ſuch abſurd principles has expoſed him.) This hole could not be made without digging up about three or four hundred leagues of earth;—a circumſtance that might diſorder the balance of Europe.

To conclude, we entreat Doctor Akakia to preſcribe to him ſome cooling medicines; and we exhort the author to apply to his ſtudies in ſome univerſity, and to be more modeſt for the future.

Should ever a company of philoſophers be ſent to Finland, to verify, if poſſible, by certain menſurations, the grand diſcoveries which Newton made by his ſublime theory of gravitation, and centrifugal force, and ſhould he happen to be one of the number, let him not endeavour to be always raiſing himſelf above his companions, nor cauſe himſelf to be painted as levelling the earth with his ſingle hand, as Atlas is repreſented ſupporting the heavens on his ſhoulders; as if, forſooth, he had changed the face of the univerſe, becauſe he had taken his diverſion in a town where there was a Swediſh garriſon. Let him likewiſe abſtain from quoting the polar circle on every occaſion.

Should any of his fellow-ſtudents propoſe to him in a friendly manner an opinion different from his?—Should he aſſure him that he is ſupported by the authority of Leibnitz, and of ſeveral other philoſophers, and particularly ſhew him a letter of M. Leibnitz, which the novice flatly contradicts, let not the ſaid novice raſhly imagine, and give out in every place, that his antago-

niſt

niſt has forged a letter of M. Leibnitz, to rob him of the glory of being an original.

Let him not take an error into which he has fallen, upon a point of Dynamics, which is of no uſe in practice, for an admirable diſcovery.

Should this companion, after having frequently ſhewn him his work, in which he attacks him with equal prudence and politeneſs, and in which he even pays him compliments, commit it to the preſs with his conſent, let him take care not to repreſent this work of his adverſary as a crime of academical treaſon.

Should his companion repeatedly aſſure him that he has in his poſſeſſion this letter of Leibnitz, as well as ſeveral others, which he received from a man who has been dead for ſome years, let not the novice baſely take advantage of this circumſtance, nor employ the ſame artifices as were uſed by a certain perſon *, againſt the Mairans, the Caſſinis, and other true philoſophers; let him not demand in ſuch a frivolous diſpute, that the dead ſhould riſe from the grave to aſcertain the authenticity of a letter of M. Leibnitz; but let him reſerve this miracle to the time of his commencing prophet; let him not embroil people in an inſignificant quarrel, which the vanity of the author would fain render important; nor let him preſume to engage the gods in a war of rats and frogs. Let him not write letter upon letter to a great princeſs, in order to ſilence his antagoniſt, and to tie up his hands, that ſo he may aſſaſſinate him at pleaſure †.

Let him not, in a paltry diſpute on Dynamics, ſummon, by an academical authority, a profeſſor to appear within a month; nor let him condemn the ſaid profeſſor of contumacy, as an invader of his glory, as a forger and falſifier of letters; more eſpecially as it is

* The perſon here meant had cruelly harraſſed the Meſſieurs de Mairan and Caſſini at Paris.

† He wrote two letters to the princeſs of Orange, entreating her to impoſe ſilence on his antagoniſt M. K. who was librarian to that princeſs, and whom he had condemned as a forger.

certain that the letters of Leibnitz are genuine, and that thoſe written under the name of a preſident were no more received by his correſpondents than they were read by the public.

Let him not endeavour to deprive any one of the liberty of a juſt defence: —— but let him remember that he that is in the wrong, and endeavours to diſhonour him that is in the right, in effect hiſhonours himſelf.

Let him be perſuaded that all men of letters are equal, and we are ſure he will gain by this equality.

Let him never be ſo fooliſh as to inſiſt that nothing ſhould be printed without his order.

Finally, we exhort him to be of a teachable diſpoſition, to apply to the ſtudy of ſound philoſophy, and not to vain cabals; for what a ſcholar gains in intrigues he loſes in genius, in the ſame manner as in mechanics, what we gain in time we loſe in power. We have but too frequently ſeen young authors, who have begun by raiſing high expectations and publiſhing excellent works, and at laſt by writing nothing but nonſenſe; becauſe inſtead of able writers they wanted to be ſkilful courtiers, ſubſtituted vanity in place of ſtudy, and that diſſipation which weakens the minds in place of that recollection which ſtrengthens it. They have been commended, and they have ceaſed to be commendable: they have been rewarded, and they have ceaſed to deſerve rewards: they have endeavoured to make a figure in the world, and their names have been entirely annihilated: for when in an author a ſum of errors is equal to a ſum of ridiculous propoſitions, "his exiſtence is equal to nothing *."

OF

* Notwithſtanding all our author's wit and ſatire, Mr. de Maupertuis will be handed down to poſterity, with the character of an able mathematician.

OF THE

DOCTRINE OF GENII.

THE doctrine of genii, judicial aſtrology, and magic, has filled the whole earth. Go back to the time of Zoroaſter, you will find the belief of genii eſtabliſhed. All antiquity is filled with aſtrologers and magicians. Theſe notions muſt, therefore, be founded in nature. We now affect to laugh at thoſe nations among whom ſuch ridiculous conceits prevailed; but had we been in their place, had we, like them, been beginning to cultivate the ſciences, we ſhould have acted exactly in the ſame manner. Let us ſuppoſe, for once, that we are men of genius, beginning to reaſon on our own being, and to make obſervations on the heavenly bodies: the earth is doubtleſs immoveable, and fixed in the centre of the univerſe; the ſun and planets revolve only for it; the ſtars are made ſolely for our ſake; ſo that man is the grand object to which every other part of nature is ſubſervient. What now ſhall we make of all theſe globes, which are ſolely deſtined for our uſe, and of the immenſity of ſpace? It is very probable, that ſpace in general, and theſe globes in particular, are peopled with inhabitants; and ſince we are the favourites of nature, placed in the centre of the world, and every thing is made for us, theſe beings muſt evidently be deſtined to watch over man.

The firſt, who ſhould believe the thing to be barely poſſible, would ſoon find diſciples convinced that it actually was ſo. Men began by ſaying, there poſſibly may be genii, and no body ought to affirm the contrary; for where is the impoſſibility of the air and the planets being inhabited? They then went a ſtep farther, and ſaid, there are genii, and no one ſurely can prove that there are none. Soon after ſome ſages ſaw theſe genii, and no one had a right to ſay that they had not ſeen them; they had appeared to men of ſo much conſideration, and

ſo worthy of credit, as to put the matter beyond all doubt. One had ſeen the genius of the empire, or of the city in which he was born; another had ſeen the genius of Mars, or that of Saturn; the genii of the four elements had appeared to ſeveral philoſophers; more than one ſage had ſeen his own genuis: all this, at firſt, in dreams; but dreams were ſymbols of the truth.

They even knew the ſhape and figure of theſe genii. In order to reach our globe, they behoved to have wings; and wings they accordingly had. We know no beings but bodies; they therefore had bodies, but bodies more beautiful than ours, becauſe they were genii, and more light, becauſe they came from ſuch an immenſe diſtance. The ſages, who had the privilege of converſing with the genii, flattered others with the hopes of enjoying the ſame happineſs. What kind of a reception would they have given to a ſceptic, who ſhould have ſaid, I have never ſeen any genii, therefore there are none? They would have anſwered, You reaſon very ill. It does not follow, from your ignorance of a thing, that it does not actually exiſt. There is no contradiction in the doctrine which teaches the nature of theſe aerial beings; nor is it impoſſible that they may pay us a viſit. They have appeared to our ſages; they will appear to us: you are not worthy to ſee genii.

Every thing on earth is a mixture of good and evil; there muſt, therefore, be good and evil genii. The Perſians had their *peris* and their *dives*; the Greeks their *dæmons* and *caco-dæmons*; and the Latins their *bonos* and *malos genios*. The good genius was white; the evil genius black; except among the Negroes, where the caſe was perfectly inverted. Plato readily admitted a good and evil genius for every mortal. The evil genius of Brutus appeared to him, and foretold his death, before the battle of Philippi. Have we not been told ſo by the graveſt hiſtorians? And would Plutarch have been ſo raſh as to affirm this fact, had it not been well founded?

Conſider,

Conſider, likewiſe, what an inexhauſtible fund of feaſts, diverſions, merry tales, and witty ſayings, the creation of genii afforded.

* *Scit genius natale comes qui temperat aſtrum.*

† *Ipſe ſuos adſit genius viſurus honores,*
Cui decorent ſanctas florea ſerta comas.

There were male genii and female genii. Among the Romans, the genii of the ladies were called little Juno's. They had alſo the pleaſure of ſeeing their genius grow. In infancy, it was a kind of Cupid with wings; in the old age of the perſon whom it protected, it had a long beard; and ſometimes it was a ſerpent. There is ſtill preſerved at Rome a piece of marble, on which is ſeen a beautiful ſerpent under a palm-tree, with two crowns appended to it. The inſcription runs, "To the genius of the Auguſtus's." This was the emblem of immortality.

What demonſtrative proof have we that the genii, which were univerſally admitted by ſo many learned nations, are no more than creatures of the imagination? All that can be ſaid on the ſubject may be reduced to this: I have never ſeen a genius; none of my acquaintance have ſeen one: Brutus has not left it on record that this genius appeared to him before the battle: neither Newton, nor Locke, nor even the fanciful Deſcartes, no king, nor miniſter of ſtate, were ever ſuppoſed to have ſpoken to their genii: I do not therefore believe a thing of which there is not the leaſt proof. The thing is not impoſſible, I own; but the poſſibility of it is no proof of its reality. It is very poſſible, that there may be ſatyrs with little curled tails and goats feet: I will wait, however, till I ſee ſeveral of them, before I will believe their exiſtence; for ſhould I only happen to ſee one, I will not believe it.

* Horace. † Tibullus.

Of ASTROLOGY.

ASTROLOGY reſts on a firmer foundation than the doctrine of genii: for though no body has ſeen either Farfadets or Lemures, or Dives or Peris, or dæmons or caco-dæmons, yet many people have ſeen aſtrological predictions verified. Let two aſtrologers be conſulted about the life of a child, or the nature of the weather; let the one ſay that the child will live to man's age, and the other that he will not; let the one foretel rain, and the other fair weather; it is evident that one of them muſt be a prophet.

The great misfortune of aſtrologers is, that the heavens are changed ſince the rules of their art were eſtabliſhed. The ſun, which was in Aries in the time of the Argonauts, is now in Taurus; and the aſtrologers, to the great detriment of their art, attribute to one ſign of the zodiac what evidently belongs to another. This however is no demonſtrative argument againſt the truth of aſtrology. The maſters of the art may be deceived; but it has not yet been demonſtrated that no ſuch art can exiſt.

There is no abſurdity in ſaying, Such a child was born at half-moon, in ſtormy weather, and at the riſing of ſuch a ſtar; his conſtitution has been weak, and his life ſhort and unhappy, the common lot of all thoſe who are born with a bad habit of body. On the other hand, this child was born at full-moon, the ſun ſhining in all his vigour, the weather fair, and at the riſing of ſuch a ſtar; his conſtitution has been good, and his life long and happy. Had theſe obſervations been frequently repeated, and found to hold true, experience might, at the end of ſome thouſands of ages, have formed an art, the truth of which it would have been difficult to diſprove: we ſhould then have thought, and with ſome appearance of reaſon too, that men are like trees and herbs, which ſhould only be ſown and planted at certain ſeaſons. It would have ſignified nothing to have objected

jected againſt the aſtrologers, that your ſon was born at a happy time, and yet died in the cradle. The aſtrologer would have replied, It frequently happens that trees periſh, though planted at a proper ſeaſon. I only anſwered for the ſtars; but could not anſwer for the faults of the conſtitution which you gave to your child. Aſtrology can only operate when no foreign cauſe intervenes to oppoſe the influence of the ſtars.

Nor would you have been more ſucceſsful in diſcrediting aſtrology, by ſaying, Of two children born at the ſame minute, the one became a king, the other no more than the church-warden of his pariſh. The aſtrologers would have eaſily defended themſelves by ſhewing, that the peaſant made his fortune by becoming a church-warden, as well as the prince made his by becoming a king.

Should you alledge, that a robber, whom Sixtus Quintus cauſed to be hanged, was born at the ſame time with Sixtus Quintus himſelf, who, from a ſow-herd, became a pope; the aſtrologers would ſay, that they had miſtaken a few ſeconds in their calculations; for that it was impoſſible, according to the rules of art, that the ſame ſtar ſhould beſtow a mitre and a gallows. It is only, therefore, from an immenſe number of events having belied the predictions, that men have at laſt diſcovered the art to be fallacious and deceitful; but, before they were undeceived, they lived a long time in a ſtate of the blindeſt credulity.

One of the moſt famous mathematicians of Europe, named Stoffler, who flouriſhed in the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries, and who laboured long in reforming the calendar which was propoſed to the council of Conſtance, foretold an univerſal deluge that was to happen in the year 1524. This deluge was to be in the month of February, and nothing could be more plauſible; for Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars, were then in conjunction in the ſign of Piſces. All the inhabitants of Europe, Aſia, and Africa, that heard the prediction, were ſtruck with conſternation. Every body expected the deluge, notwithſtanding the rain-bow. Several

cotemporary authors relate, that the people inhabiting the maritime provinces of Germany made haſte to ſell their lands, at a low price, to ſuch as had more money and leſs credulity than themſelves. Every one provided himſelf with a boat, in imitation of Noah's Ark. A doctor of Toulouſe in particular, called Auriol, cauſed a large ark to be built for himſelf, his family, and his friends; and the ſame precautions were taken in ſeveral parts of Italy. At laſt the month of February arrived, and not a drop of rain fell: never was month more dry, nor were ever the aſtrologers more embarraſſed. But, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, they were neither diſcouraged nor neglected amongſt us. Moſt princes continued to conſult them.

I have not the honour to be a prince: but the famous count de Boulainvilliers, and an Italian named Colonne, who had a great reputation at Paris, both foretold that I ſhould certainly die at thirty-two years of age. I have had the malice to deceive them already in near thirty years, for which I moſt humbly aſk their pardon.

OF MAGIC.

MAGIC is a ſcience ſtill more plauſible than either aſtrology, or the doctrine of genii. As ſoon as men began to think that they poſſeſſed a principle entirely diſtinct from matter, and that the ſoul exiſted after death, they aſſigned to this ſoul a body, thin, ſubtile, aerial, and reſembling that in which it was formerly lodged. Two reaſons, both of them extremely natural, introduced this opinion. The firſt is, that in all languages the ſoul was called ſpirit, breath, wind; and this ſpirit, this breath, and this wind, was ſomething very thin and refined. The ſecond is, that if the ſoul of a man did not retain a form ſimilar to what it poſſeſſed in life, it would have been impoſſible, after death, to diſtinguiſh the ſoul of one man from that

that of another. This ſoul, or ghoſt, which ſubſiſted ſeparate from the body, might eaſily ſhew itſelf on occaſion, might return to the places it once inhabited, viſit its friends and relations, ſpeak to them, and inſtruct them. In this there was nothing contradictory. Whatever is, may appear.

Spirits might eaſily acquaint thoſe whom they came to viſit with the manner of raiſing them up; and they actually did ſo: the word *Abraxa*, pronounced with ſome ceremonies, called up the particular ghoſt to whom the perſon wanted to ſpeak. Suppoſe an Egyptian ſhould ſay to a philoſopher, "I am deſcended, in a direct line, from the magicians of Pharaoh, who changed their rods into ſerpents, and the waters of the Nile into blood. One of my anceſtors married the witch of Ender, who called up the ghoſt of Samuel at the deſire of king Saul: ſhe communicated the ſecret to her huſband, and he imparted it to his children. I poſſeſs this power by inheritance from my father and mother. My genealogy is well vouched; I command the ghoſts and the elements." The philoſopher could only beg his protection; for ſhould he take it in his head to deny and to diſpute, the magician would ſtop his mouth by ſaying, "You cannot deny facts. My anceſtors were certainly great magicians; of this you cannot entertain the leaſt doubt. You have no reaſon to think me inferior to them, eſpecially when a man of honour, as I am, aſſures you that he is a ſorcerer." The philoſopher might ſay, "Do me the favour to raiſe a ſpirit; give me an opportunity of ſpeaking to a ghoſt; change this water into blood, and this rod into a ſerpent." The magician might reply, "I do not work for philoſophers; I raiſe ſpirits to very reſpectable ladies, and to ſimple people who do not diſpute; you ought to believe that it is poſſible, at leaſt, that I may poſſeſs this ſecret, ſince you are forced to acknowledge that my anceſtors poſſeſſed it; what has been done formerly may be done now; and you ought to believe the reality of magic without obliging me to give a ſpecimen of my art."

Theſe

These reasons are so good, that all nations have had their sorcerers. The greatest sorcerers were paid by the state, for discovering future events from the heart and liver of an ox. Why then have the rest been so long capitally punished? But they perform still greater wonders; we ought therefore to honour them, and to stand in awe of their power. Nothing is more ridiculous than to condemn a true magician to the flames; for it is to be presumed that he can extinguish the fire, and break the necks of his judges. All that can be done is to say to him, "We do not burn you, friend, as a true sorcerer, but as a false one, who vainly boast yourself the master of an admirable art, which you do not understand: we treat you as we would treat a man that circulates base money: the more we value the genuine coin, the more severely do we punish those who give counterfeit money. We know there have been venerable magicians in former ages; but we have reason to think that you are not of that number, since you suffer yourself to be burned like a fool."

It is true, the magician, when driven to extremity, may say, "My art does not extend so far as to enable me to extinguish fire without water, nor to kill my judges with a word. I can only raise spirits, look into futurity, and change certain bodies into others of a different form. My power is limited; but you ought not on that account to burn me by a slow fire. This is as unreasonable as if you should hang a physician who has cured you of a fever, because he is not likewise able to cure you of a palsy." But the judges would answer, "Shew us then some specimen of your art, or cheerfully consent to be committed to the flames."

Of People poſſeſſed by Evil Spirits.

THOSE who are poſſeſſed of evil ſpirits are the only people to whom it is impoſſible to give any good anſwer. Let a man but once ſay, "I am poſſeſſed by an unclean ſpirit," and we muſt believe him on his word. Nor is he obliged, in proof of his aſſertion, to perform extraordinary actions: if he does perform ſuch actions, it is only from a ſuperabundance of right. What can you ſay to a man who rolls his eyes, diſtorts his mouth, and affirms that he has the devil in him? Every one is the beſt judge of his own feelings. Formerly every place was full of people poſſeſſed with unclean ſpirits, and ſome of them may be met with. If they take it in their head to beat people, they are preſently repaid in their own coin, and then they become very quiet and peaceable. But with regard to a poor wretch of this character, who contents himſelf with a few convulſions, and does harm to no body, we have no right to do any harm to him. Should you argue with him, he will be ſure to get the better of you. He will ſay, "The devil entered into me yeſterday, under ſuch a form, and I have, ever ſince, been troubled with a ſupernatural cholic, which all the apothecaries in the world cannot cure." It is evident that the only courſe we can take with ſuch a man is to exorciſe him, or to abandon him to the devil.

The want of magicians, aſtrologers, genii, and of people poſſeſſed by unclean ſpirits, is a great loſs in the preſent age. 'Tis impoſſible to conceive, of what infinite uſe theſe myſteries were about a hundred years ago. All the nobility then lived in caſtles, and, in the long winter evenings, they would have died with wearineſs, had it not been for theſe noble amuſements. There was hardly a caſtle to which a fairy did not return on certain ſtated days; as, for inſtance, the fairy Merluſine to the caſtle of Luſignan. The chief huntſman, a

man

man of meagre habit, and black complexion, hunted with a pack of black dogs in the foreſt of Fontainbleau. The devil broke the neck of mareſchal Fabert. Every village had its ſorcerer, or its ſorcereſs. Every prince had his aſtrologer. All the ladies had their fortunes told. The perſons poſſeſſed by evil ſpirits ran up and down the country; and he was the prettieſt fellow who had ſeen the devil, or could ſee him the ſooneſt. All this was an inexhauſtible fund of converſation, and kept the minds of people in exerciſe. At preſent we divert ourſelves with the inſipid game of cards, and have entirely loſt the pleaſure of being deceived.

OF OVID.

THE learned have written whole volumes to inform us to what corner of the earth Ovidius Naſo was baniſhed by Octavius Cepias, ſurnamed Auguſtus. All that we know of him is, that he was born at Sulmona, educated at Rome, and lived ten years on the right-hand bank of the Danube, not far from the Black Sea. Though he calls this a barbarous country, we are not therefore to imagine that it was inhabited by ſavages. The natives compoſed verſes. Cotis, a petty king of a part of Thrace, wrote ſome Getic verſes for Ovid. The Latin poet learned the Getic, and compoſed ſeveral verſes in that language. One would have expected to find ſome Greek verſes in the ancient country of Orpheus; but this ſpot was then inhabited by a northern nation, who probably ſpoke a Tartarian dialect; a language nearly a kin to the ancient Sclavonic. Ovid did not ſeem to be formed for writing Tartarian verſes. The country of the Tomites, to which he was baniſhed, was part of Meſia, a Roman province between Mount Hemus and the Danube. It is ſituated in the latitude of forty-four degrees and a half, like the fineſt provinces of France; but the mountains which lie to the ſouth, the northerly and

and eaſterly winds that blow from the Euxine Sea, and the cold and dampneſs of the ſoil, occaſioned by the foreſts and the Danube, rendered this country inſupportable to a native of Italy: and hence it was, that Ovid lived but a ſhort time in it, having died there at ſixty years of age. In his elegies he complains of the climate, and not of the inhabitants:

Quos ego, cùm loca ſim veſtra peroſus, amo.
Whom, tho' I hate your ſoil, I dearly love.

Theſe people crowned him with laurels, and gave him many privileges, which, however, could not hinder him from regretting the loſs of Rome. Nothing could be a ſtronger proof of the ſlavery of the Romans, and of the utter extinction of all their laws, than for a man born in an equeſtrian family, as Octavius was, to baniſh a perſon of the ſame rank, and for one citizen of Rome to ſend another among the Scythians by a ſingle word. Before that time, it required a plebiſcitum, a law made by the whole nation, to deprive a Roman of his native country. Cicero, though baniſhed by a cabal, was nevertheleſs baniſhed with all the laws preſcribed by the laws.

It is evident that Ovid's crime was his having ſeen ſomething ſhameful in the family of Octavius.

Cur aliquid vidi, cur noxia lumina feci?
Why did my eyes the guilty ſcene behold?

It is ſtill a doubt among the learned, whether he had ſeen Auguſtus with a young boy, more plump and jolly than that Mannius whom Auguſtus ſaid he could not like becauſe he was too lean; or if he had ſeen ſome gentleman-uſher in the arms of the empreſs Livia, whom Auguſtus married while ſhe was with child by another; or if he had ſeen the emperor toying with his daughter, or his grand-daughter; or, finally, whether he had ſeen Auguſtus doing ſomething ſtill worſe, *torva tuentibus hircis*. It is extremely probable that Ovid ſurpriſed Auguſtus

guſtus in the commiſſion of inceſt. An author, almoſt cotemporary with Ovid, called Minutianus Apuleius, ſays, *Pulſum quoque in exilium quod Auguſti inceſtum vidiſſet.*

Octavius Auguſtus made the harmleſs book of "The Art of Love," a book written with great decency, and in which there is not one obſcene word, a pretext for baniſhing a Roman knight to the coaſts of the Black Sea. This pretext was ridiculous. How could Auguſtus, who has left behind him ſome verſes filled with the moſt filthy obſcenity; how could he, with any regard to decency, baniſh Ovid to Tomis, for having ſeveral years before given his friends a few copies of "The Art of Love?" How could he have the impudence to blame Ovid for a work, written with ſome modeſty at leaſt, at the very time that he approved the verſes of Horace, in which that author ſcatters, with an unſparing hand, all the terms of the moſt infamous proſtitution, ſuch as *futuo*, and *mentula*, and *cunnus?* He propoſes to gratify his paſſion, either with a laſcivious wench, or with a pretty boy who ties up his long hair in a knot, or with a ſervant maid, or with a lacquay, and all without the leaſt diſtinction; for to him every one is equal. In a word, he is free from no kind of lewdneſs, but that of beſtiality. Is it not then the heighth of impudence to find fault with Ovid, and yet to tolerate Horace? It is evident that *Octavius* alledges a very bad reaſon for his conduct, not daring to mention the true one. Another proof that Ovid's baniſhment was owing to ſome act of fornication or inceſt, or to ſome ſecret adventure or other of the ſacred imperial family, is, that that buck of Caprea, Tiberius, immortalized by the medals of his debaucheries, and a monſter of lewdneſs as well as of diſſimulation, did not recal the poet. It was in vain for Ovid to aſk a pardon from the author of the proſcriptions, and the priſoner of Germanicus: he was obliged to remain on the banks of the Danube.

Had a Dutch, a Poliſh, a Swediſh, an Engliſh, or a Venetian gentleman ſeen a ſtadtholder, a king of Great Britain,

Britain, a king of Sweden, a king of Poland, or a doge, commit ſome groſs ſin; had this gentleman ſeen the commiſſion of the crime, not merely by accident, but had actually ſought for an opportunity of ſeeing it; and, in fine, had he been even ſo imprudent as to talk of it in public; yet neither the ſtadtholder, nor the king, nor the doge, would have a right to baniſh him.

But we have almoſt as much reaſon to blame Ovid for having praiſed Auguſtus and Tiberius, as we have to blame them for the crimes they committed. The elogiums he beſtows upon them are ſo extravagant, that they would even excite our indignation had they been given to princes, who were at once lawful ſovereigns and his benefactors; but he gives them to tyrants, and to his tyrants We can excuſe a man for beſtowing a few praiſes on a prince that careſſes him; but we can by no means excuſe him for deifying a prince that perſecutes him. He would have done much better to have embarked on the Black Sea, and retired into Perſia through the Palus Meotis, than to have compoſed his *Triſtia de Ponto*. He would have learned the Perſian as eaſily as the Getic, and might, at leaſt, have forgot the maſter of Rome for the maſter of Echatan. Some ſtupid objector may, perhaps, alledge that he had ſtill one courſe to take; namely, to go privately to Rome; to apply to the relations of Brutus and Caſſius, and to form a twelfth conſpiracy againſt Octavius; but that was not in the elegiac taſte.

What a ſtrange and inconſiſtent thing is praiſe! Ovid, it is plain, heartily wiſhes that ſome Brutus would deliver Rome from her Auguſtus, and yet, in his verſes, he wiſhes him immortality.

I blame Ovid for nothing but his Triſtia. Bayle attacks him upon his philoſophy of the Chaos, which is ſo well explained in the beginning of his Metamorphoſes:

Ante mare, & terras, & quod tegit omnia cœlum,
Unus erat toto naturæ vultus in orbe.

Bayle tranſlates theſe verſes thus: "Before the heaven, the

the earth, or the ſea exiſted, all nature was one homogeneous maſs." Ovid ſays, "the face of nature was every where the ſame." This does not mean all was one homogeneous maſs; but only that this heterogeneous maſs, this aſſemblage of different things, appeared to be the ſame; *unus vultus*.

Bayle criticiſes the whole of the chaos. Ovid, who, in his verſes, is no more than the chanter of the ancient philoſophy, ſays, that things ſoft and hard, light and heavy, were mixed together:

Mollia cum duris, ſine pondere habentia pondus:

and Bayle reaſons againſt him in the following manner:

"Nothing can be more abſurd than to ſuppoſe a chaos, that was homogeneous from eternity, though it had the elementary properties, as well thoſe which are called alterative, ſuch as heat, cold, moiſture, dryneſs, as thoſe which are called motive, and which are gravity and lightneſs; the latter the cauſe of an upward motion, the former of a downward. Such matter as this could not poſſibly be homogeneous, but muſt neceſſarily contain all ſorts of heterogeneous qualities. Heat, cold, moiſture, and dryneſs could not exiſt together, without being modified by their action and reaction, and converted into other properties which compoſe the form of mixed bodies; and as this modification might be made according to the innumerable diverſities of combinations, the chaos muſt have contained an incredible multitude of mixed bodies of different forms. The only way in which we can conceive the chaos to be homogeneal, would be to ſay, that the alterative properties of the elements were modified exactly in the ſame degree in all particles of matter, ſo that there was every where the ſame medium between heat and cold, the ſame ſoftneſs, the ſame ſmell, the ſame taſte, &c. But this would be to pull down with one hand what we had built with the other; this would be, by a contradiction in terms, to give the name of a Chaos to a work of the greateſt regu-

regularity, ſymmetry, and proportion that can poſſibly be conceived. I own, indeed, that the human mind is better pleaſed with a diverſified, than with an uniform work; but we muſt be convinced, on ſerious reflection, that the harmony of contrary qualities uniformly preſerved throughout the univerſe, would be as great a perfection as that unequal diſtribution which ſucceeded the chaos.

"What unlimited knowledge, what unbounded power would be requiſite to preſerve this uniform harmony diffuſed through all nature? It would not be ſufficient to put into the compoſition of every mixed body the ſame quantity of each of the four ingredients; it would be neceſſary to put more of ſome, and leſs of others, according to their greater or leſs aptitude to act than to reſiſt; for it is well known that the philoſophers make a great diſtinction between action and reaction on the elementary qualities. All things conſidered, it will be found, that the cauſe that ſhould have metamorphoſed the chaos, would have drawn it, not from a ſtate of war and confuſion, as is commonly ſuppoſed, but from a ſtate of the greateſt order and regularity, which, by reducing the contrary forces to an equilibrium, preſerved it in perfect peace and tranquillity. Hence it is evident, that if the poets will ſtill maintain the homogeneity of the chaos, they muſt, of courſe, deſtroy all that they have added about this ſtrange jumble of contrary ingredients, this indigeſted maſs, this eternal war of jarring principles.

"But not to inſiſt on this contradiction, we ſhall find ſufficient reaſon to attack them on other accounts.—Let us begin with the notion of eternity. Can any thing be more abſurd than to admit a mixture of the inſenſible parts of the four elements for an infinite time? The moment you ſuppoſe theſe parts poſſeſſed of the activity of heat, the moment you allow the action and reaction of the four primary qualities, the centripetal motion in the particles of the earth and water, and the centrifugal motion in thoſe of fire and the air,

you

you eſtabliſh a principle which will neceſſarily ſeparate theſe four ſorts of bodies, and will require for this purpoſe but a limitted time. Conſider a little what is called the phial of the four elements. Put into it ſome ſmall metallic particles, and then three different liquors, every one lighter than the others: ſhake it all together, you no longer diſcern any of theſe four mixtures; the parts of each of them are confounded with the parts of the others. But let your phial ſtand a little, and you will then find each of them reſume its proper ſituation. All the metallic particles fall to the bottom of the phial; thoſe of the lighteſt liquor mount to the top; thoſe of the liquor, which is heavier than that, but lighter than the other, occupy the third ſtage; and thoſe of the liquor, which is heavier than the other two, but lighter than the metallic particles, ſettle in the ſecond place; and thus you will find the diſtinct ſituations which you had confounded by ſhaking the phial. Nor will ſuch an experiment require much patience: a very ſhort time will be ſufficient to make it; and will exhibit a true picture of the ſituation which nature has given to the four elements in the conſtruction of the world. Thus, by comparing the univerſe to this phial, we may eaſily conclude, that were the earth reduced to powder, and were that powder mixed with the matter of the ſtars, and with that of the air and water, and were that mixture to extend even to the inviſible particles of each of theſe elements, every thing would immediately begin to diſintangle itſelf, and, at the end of a certain time, the parts of the earth would form one maſs, thoſe of fire another, and ſo of the reſt, according to the gravity or lightneſs of each kind of body."

But I would take the liberty of telling M. Bayle, that the experiment of the phial could not be made at the time of the chaos. I would tell him that Ovid and the philoſophers underſtood by heavy and light things, ſuch as became ſo when God put his hand to them. I would ſay to him; You ſuppoſe that nature might, by its own virtue, have put itſelf into its preſent form,

and

and beſtowed upon itſelf the quality of gravity: but you muſt firſt prove that gravity is a property eſſentially inherent in matter; a thing which, to this day, has never yet been demonſtrated. Deſcartes pretends, in his philoſophical romance, that bodies did not become heavy till her vortices of ſubtile matter began to puſh them to a centre —— Newton, in his true philoſophy, does not ſay that graviation or attraction is a property eſſential to matter. Had Ovid been able to gueſs at the nature of Newton's Principia Mathematica, he would have ſaid, Matter was neither heavy, nor in motion in my chaos: it was neceſſary that God ſhould give it theſe two qualities; my chaos did not poſſeſs the properties you aſcribe to it: "*Nec quidquam niſi pondus iners*," it was only an inactive maſs; *pondus* here ſignifying maſs, and not weight. Nothing could be heavy till God had impreſſed on matter the principle of gravitation. How could one body tend towards the centre of another, be attracted by it, or puſh it, unleſs the ſupreme artiſt had given it that inexplicable virtue? Thus Ovid would be found to be not only a good philoſopher, but even a tolerable divine.

You ſay, "A ſcholaſtic divine would readily admit, that if the four elements exiſted independent of God, with all the properties they now poſſeſs, they might of themſelves have formed the world, and maintained it in its preſent ſtate. We muſt therefore acknowledge that there are two capital errors in the doctrine of the chaos. The firſt and principal error is, that it deprives God of the honour of creating matter, and of producing the properties that are peculiar to the fire, to the air, the earth, and the ſea. The ſecond is, that, after having robbed him of this prerogative, it introduces him on the theatre of the world without any apparent neceſſity, merely to aſſign proper places to the four elements. The new philoſophers, who reject the qualities and properties of the peripatetic phyſics, would find the ſame errors in Ovid's deſcription of the chaos;—— for what they call the general laws of motion, mechanical principles, and modifications of matter, ſuch

ſuch as figure, ſituation, and arrangement of ſmall bodies, mean no more than that active and paſſive virtue of nature, which the peripatetics expreſs by the words, alterative and motive properties of the four elements. Since, therefore, agreeable to their doctrine, theſe four bodies, ſituated according to their natural gravity and lightneſs, are a principle ſufficient to anſwer all manner of productions, the Carteſians, the Gaſſendiſts, and other modern philoſophers, muſt allow that the motion, the ſituation, and the configuration of the parts of matter are ſufficient for the production of all natural effects, not even excepting the general arrangement which put the earth, the air, the water, and the ſtars into the condition in which we now behold them. —— Thus the true cauſe of the world, and of all the effects produced in it, is the ſame with that which gave motion to the parts of matter, whether it was by aſſigning to every atom a certain figure, according to the opinion of the Gaſſendiſts, or only by giving to parts perfectly cubical an impulſe, which, by the duration of motion reduced to fixed laws, might make them aſſume, in the ſequel, all ſorts of figures. This is the hypotheſis of the Carteſians. —— But both of them muſt allow, as a neceſſary conſequence, that if matter was ſuch as Ovid has ſuppoſed it to be before the creation of the world, it would have been able, by its own inherent properties, to draw itſelf from the chaos, and to form the world without the aſſiſtance of God. They ought therefore to accuſe Ovid of having committed two blunders. The one is, his ſuppoſing that matter had, without the aid of the Deity, the ſeeds of all mixed bodies, as heat, motion, &c. the other is, his ſaying, that, without the aſſiſtance of God, it never could have drawn itſelf from a ſtate of confuſion. This is to aſcribe too much and too little both to the one and the other; it is to diſpenſe with aſſiſtance in the greateſt difficulty, and to aſk it when it is not neceſſary."

But Ovid might ſtill reply, You falſely ſuppoſe my elements to have had all the qualities which they now poſſeſs; whereas, in fact, they had none of them; they were

were a naked, ſhapeleſs, and inactive maſs; and when I ſaid that in my chaos cold was mixed with heat, and moiſture with dryneſs, I could not make uſe of any other expreſſions than theſe, which only mean, that there was neither cold nor heat, nor moiſture, nor dryneſs. Theſe are qualities which God hath placed in our ſenſations, and which have no exiſtence in matter. I have not committed the blunders of which you accuſe me. It is your Carteſians, and your Gaſſendiſts that commit blunders with their atoms, and their cubic parts; and their whimſical conceits are as ill-founded as my Metamorphoſes. I prefer a Daphne changed into a laurel, and a Narciſſus transformed into a flower, to your ſubtile matter changed into ſuns, and your groſſer matter formed into earth and water.

I give you fables as fables, and you philoſophers give us fables for realities.

OF SOCRATES.

IS the mould broken in which thoſe illuſtrious perſons were formed, who loved virtue for her own ſake, a Confucius, a Pythagoras, a Thales, a Socrates? In their times there were crowds of devotees who worſhipped their pagods and their deities; people ſtruck with the fear of Cerberus; and enthuſiaſts that ran through the whole circle of initiations, pilgrimages, myſteries, and who ruined themſelves by their expenſive offerings of black ſheep. All ages have ſeen ſuch unhappy wretches as Lucretius mentions:

Qui quecumque tamen miſeri venêre, parentant,
Et nigras mactant pecudes & manibus divis
In feria mittunt, multoque in rebus acerbis
Acrius advertunt animos ad religionem

Nay,

Nay, more; where'er theſe boaſting wretches come,
They ſacrifice black ſheep on every tomb
To pleaſe the Manes; and of all the rout,
When cares and dangers preſs, grow moſt devout.

Mortifications were then in uſe. The prieſts of Cybele cauſed themſelves to be caſtrated, in order to preſerve their chaſtity. Whence comes it, that, among all theſe martyrs of ſuperſtitions, antiquity cannot ſhew us a ſingle ſage, or great man? The reaſon is, that fear could never produce virtue. The great men were always admirers of moral good. Wiſdom was their ruling paſſion; they were ſages for the ſame reaſon that Alexander was a warrior, Homer a poet, and Apelles a painter, by the mere force and impulſe of nature; and this, perhaps, is all that we ought to underſtand by the demon of Socrates.

As two citizens of Athens were, one day, returning from the temple of Mercury, they obſerved Socrates in the ſtreet. "Is not that the impious wretch," ſaid the one, "who pretends that men may be virtuous without going daily to offer ſheep and geeſe?" "Yes," replied the other, "that is the Sage, who has no religion; that is the Atheiſt, who ſays that there is but one God." Socrates approached them with his uſual air of ſimplicity, his demon, and his ironical vein of humour, which Madam Dacier has ſo much improved: "Friends," ſaid he, "a word with you, if you pleaſe: what name would you give to a man that prays to the Deity, and adores him, endeavours to reſemble him as much as the weakneſs of human nature will permit, and does all the good in his power?" "He is," ſaid they, "a very religious man." "Well. May not a man adore the Supreme Being, and yet have a due ſenſe of religion?" "Agreed," ſaid the two Athenians. "But think ye," continued Socrates, "that when the Divine Architect of the world arranged all theſe globes that roll above our heads, and gave life and motion to ſo many different beings; think ye that he made uſe of the arm of Hercules,

Hercules, the lyre of Apollo, or the flute of Pan?"—"It is not probable," ſaid they. "But if it is improbable that he employed the aſſiſtance of any one in conſtructing all theſe bodies we ſee around us, it is equally improbable that he employs the miniſtration of any one to preſerve them in being. Were Neptune abſolute maſter of the ſea, Juno of the air, Æolus of the winds, and Ceres of harveſts; and ſhould one of them deſire a calm, and another wind and rain, you plainly perceive that the order of nature could not ſubſiſt in its preſent ſtate. It is neceſſary, you will allow, that every thing ſhould depend on the author of its being. You give four white horſes to the ſun, and two black ones to the moon; but is it not better that day and night ſhould be the effect of that motion which was impreſſed on the ſtars by the Creator of theſe heavenly bodies, than that they ſhould be produced by ſix horſes?" The two citizens looked at each other, without making any anſwer. Socrates concluded his diſcourſe, by proving, that they might have plentiful crops without giving money to the prieſts of Ceres; might go a hunting without preſenting little ſtatues of ſilver to the temple of Diana; that Pomona was not the giver of fruits, nor Neptune of horſes; but that we ought to return our thanks to the Supreme Being who made all things.

His diſcourſe was conducted according to the ſtricteſt rules of logic. Xenophon, his diſciple, a man who knew the world, and who afterwards ſacrificed to the Wind in the retreat of the ten thouſand, pulled Socrates by the ſleeve, and ſaid; "Your diſcourſe is admirable; you have ſpoken better than an oracle; but you have ruined yourſelf; one of theſe men is a butcher, who ſells ſheep and geeſe for the ſacrifices; and the other is a goldſmith, who gains great ſums by making little gods of ſilver and copper for the ladies. They will accuſe you of impiety for having endeavoured to leſſen their profits. They will ſwear againſt you before Melitus and Anitus, your enemies,

who have conſpired your ruin. Take care of the hemlock. Your demon ſhould have diſſuaded you from ſaying to a butcher and a goldſmith, what ought only to be ſaid to a Plato or a Xenophon.

Some time after, Socrates's enemies found means to have him condemned by the council of five hundred. He had two hundred and twenty votes in his favour. This makes it probable, that there were two hundred and twenty philoſophers in the aſſembly; but ſhews, at the ſame time, that in every company, the number of philoſophers is the ſmalleſt.

Socrates, accordingly, drank the hemlock for having ſpoken in favour of the Unity of God; and the Athenians afterwards dedicated a temple to Socrates, that very man who had declaimed againſt the practice of dedicating temples to inferior beings.

EXA-

EXAMINATION

OF THE

POLITICAL TESTAMENT

OF

CARDINAL ALBERONI.

AFTER ſo many teſtaments, which the public have rendered void and ineffectual, that of cardinal Alberoni, at laſt, makes its appeaance. I heartily wiſh that the cardinal had given the editor a place in his teſtament. This editor or author muſt, doubtleſs, know the world too well, not to be ſenſible, that a good legacy, which makes a man live in eaſe and affluence, is better than a thouſand political ſpeculations. A writer compoſes a fine book, full of the moſt profound reaſoning, on the ruinous commerce of Europe with the Eaſt Indies: a merchant, with the ſtroke of his pen, ſends a commiſſion thither, without reaſoning about effects; gains an immenſe fortune; and does not read the book. The caſe is the ſame in politics; a man of genius and leiſure forms projects to change the face of Europe: thoſe who govern, follow their old track, without ſo much as inquiring whether any projects have ever been formed.

The abbé de Bourzey, afraid that he ſhould not be read, boldly aſſumed the name of the cardinal de Richelieu. Others have taken the names of Mazarine, of Colbert, of Louvois, and of the duke of Lorraine.

All theſe teſtaments are compoſed in the ſtile of Criſpin's, who takes the night-gown and the name of Geronte in the Univerſal Legatee. It is evident, at firſt ſight, that Geronte is not the author of that teſtament; we ſoon diſcover it to be the work of Criſpin.

It muſt be owned, indeed, that the Teſtament of cardinal Alberoni is not compoſed by a Criſpin: it is written by a man of no inconſiderable ſhare of knowledge; but he muſt not pretend to make the world believe, that this teſtament is really the work of the cardinal. In vain does he endeavour in his preface to elude the law which I enforced, viz. that this ſingle word, "The Teſtament of a Miniſter," lays the author under an indiſpenſible obligation to depoſite the original of the work in the public archives, or to prove the authenticity of it in ſome other way, equally ſatisfactory.

If this law is violated, the public have a right to exclaim againſt the impoſition. In matters of ſo great importance we are bound to convince the world that we act fairly and honeſtly. When I printed the Anti-Machiavel at the Hague, I depoſited the original copy in the Town-houſe, where it ſtill remains. The author, indeed, does not pretend, that the Teſtament of cardinal Alberoni is the work of that miniſter; he only ſays, that it contains his intentions; that it is a collection of ſome of the cardinal's thoughts, to which the editor has joined his own; by which means the work may become doubly valuable. Call it a Teſtament, or not, as you pleaſe, it is of no conſequence. The titles of books are like thoſe of men in the eyes of a philoſopher; he judges of nothing by titles.

Be it the cardinal Alberoni, or his interpreter, that adviſes the king of Spain to encourage agriculture, it is certainly a very good advice, and his majeſty ought to follow it, whether it come from a miniſter, or a farmer. The author propoſes to cultivate the lands in Spain by the hands of the negroes. And why not? Theſe lands, which want labourers, ſtill accuſe that unhappy

unhappy king, who deprived them of the hands of the Moors, under whom they were fertile. The deſerts of Pruſſia, cultivated by foreigners, are a reproach to the lands of Caſtile.

Few men are better acquainted with Spain than this author. One would almoſt take him for the miniſter of Philip V. or for him who was the companion of his retreat and his unhappy friend (if indeed one can be the friend of a king.) He enumerates all the cauſes to which the depopulation of Spain is owing; but, methinks, he is in the wrong, not to reckon among theſe cauſes the expulſion of the Jews and the Moors, and the many colonies tranſplanted into America——The emigration of the Proteſtants from France is hardly perceptible. But the reaſon is, that France contains about twenty-two millions of induſtrious inhabitants; whereas, in Spain there are ſcarcely above ſix millions of people, and their pride and lazineſs jointly contribute to ſtifle the ſpirit of induſtry. Take much from him that has little, and what remains? how repair theſe loſſes in a country where parents tranſmit to their children the diſeaſe that attacks the human ſpecies in its ſource, and where ſuperſtition buries nature in cloiſters? I here make uſe of the term Superſtition, which the cardinal employs; for I would not willingly change his words. The author plainly proves that Spain is the country of grandeur and abuſes. He does more: he points out the remedies. The work has not been reviewed by the inquiſitors. There are ſome countries in the world which require, that a man ſhould be ſix hundred miles from them, before he can take the liberty of telling theſe uſeful truths.

In the ſeventh chapter we ſee a part of that immenſe plan, which was formerly conceived by cardinal Alberoni. This man, in 1707, was not known in Anet (the curacy of which he refuſed) by any other character than that of "*uomo faceto è piacevole*," who made excellent onion-ſoops. He was then patronized by Campiſtron; and in 1718 he was going to

turn

turn the world topſy-turvy. I made mention of him in my hiſtory of Charles XII. I there did him juſtice; and he returned me thanks with ſo much the more gratitude, as he was then unfortunate. This project, which was juſt upon the point of being carried into execution, was to arm the Ottoman empire againſt Auſtria, and Charles XII. and the Czar againſt England; to eſtabliſh the Pretender on the throne of Great-Britain: to deprive the duke of Orleans of the regency of France; and to render Italy for ever independent of Germany, after ſeven hundred years of ſubjection, or ſlavery, or ſubmiſſion. In proſecution of this ſcheme, an Italian body was formed ſomewhat reſembling the Germanic body. Don Carlos was to have Naples and Sicily; and his brother, Don Philip, Tuſcany. Lombardy was to fall to the ſhare of the dukes of Savoy. Mantua was to be added to the territories of Venice; and the dominions of the duke of Modena were to be more than doubled by the addition of Parma.

Views of the moſt extenſive commerce came in aid of theſe political regulations or diſorders. The cannon-ball which killed Charles XII. overturned the whole project. But this ſhattered machine was ſtrong enough, ſome time after, to place Don Carlos on the throne of the two Sicilies by new expedients.

The author would have the Pretender to endeavour to obtain the ſovereignty of Corſica, inſtead of making fruitleſs attempts on the crown of England. He then propoſes to him the vice-royalty of Majorca, —— Can theſe propoſals come from the cardinal Alberoni?

Can it poſſibly be he who inveighs ſo bitterly againſt the memory of the cardinal de Fleury; and who ſays, that nothing was to be heard but the complaints and groans of the people during the adminiſtration of that miniſter? If it really be the cardinal Alberoni that ſpeaks thus, he is either greatly prejudiced, or he is not ſo well acquainted with France as with Spain. He decries the cardinal de Fleury in every thing, and degrades

grades him below mediocrity. But when we travel from St. Dizier to Moyenvic, we ſay. "It was the cardinal de Fleury that added all theſe territories to France; and what more could a great man have then done?" The cardinal Alberoni is become a very ſevere cenſurer ſince his death. His Teſtament is a ſatire.

He blames cardinal Fleury for having been for the war of 1741, though it is well known that he was againſt it, and oppoſed it with all his might.

He blames the emperor Charles VI. for having made his pragmatic ſanction; but the daughter of that emperor, we believe, will be of a different opinion. — He is for changing the conſtitution of Germany. In a word, he acts like a man who has loſt his eſtate at play, and, ſtill taking pleaſure in viewing the players, publiſhes aloud the miſtakes he thinks he diſcovers.

Can it poſſibly be the cardinal Alberoni, that thus judges the living and the dead? We know a marechal of France, who has acquired a great reputation by his grand projects, by the ſpirit of order and œconomy, which he introduced, and by his genius and activity. The pretended teſtator treats him very ſeverely. In my opinion, hiſtory ought not to ſpeak of the living: ſhe ought to imitate the judgments of the Egyptians, who never decided concerning the merit of their countrymen, until they were no more The characters of great men are always viewed in a falſe light during their life-time. But had we an inclination to anſwer the bitter reproaches with which cardinal Alberoni loads this illuſtrious Frenchman, we might ſay: Ceaſe to reproach the marechal with exhauſting the treaſuries of France, in his magnificent embaſſy to Francfort, when Charles XII. was choſen emperor. Ceaſe to repreſent Germany as jealous of this pretended profuſion. The Spaniſh ambaſſador made as great a figure there as the ambaſſador of France. The duke de Ripperda had appeared at Vienna with ſtill greater ſplendor; nor was it ever known that any nation was alarmed at the number of a plenipotentiary's domeſtics,

tics, or at the richneſs and magnificence of his plate.—You was certainly indiſpoſed when you wrote this article; and you beſtowed your malediction, at your dying hour, on a mere trifle. Your eminence was in a bad humour, when you dictated the article in which you condemn, in a political view, the project of this general; you ought not to judge by the event. Men whoſe reputation with poſterity will be higher than yours, becauſe with an equal ſhare of genius they had better fortune, have ſaid, that the plan which you think ſo chimerical, was of all others the moſt likely to ſucceed. In effect, what was this plan? It was to unite France, Spain, Pruſſia, Saxony, and Bavaria, to judge, ſword in hand, the cauſe of the ſucceſſion to the Auſtrian dominions. A young and victorious king had an army of an hundred thouſand men, the beſt diſciplined of any in Europe. Saxony had near fifty thouſand. Two French armies, each conſiſting of about forty thouſand men, were both in the heart of Germany, and almoſt at the gates of Vienna. The Spaniards were going to fall upon Italy; and at that time, it hardly appeared, that they had any enemies to contend with. They had even propoſed to put other ſprings in motion, which hiſtory will one day bring to light. We aſk, after all theſe preparations, if ever an enterprize had a better appearance? We aſk, if this project was not an hundred times more plauſible than yours? Small armies have ſometimes been ſeen to overthrow mighty empires. Here two hundred and fifty thouſand men attack a defenceleſs woman; and yet ſhe maintains her ground.—Own it, Mr. Cardinal; there certainly is a Being above us who confounds the wiſeſt ſchemes of mortal men.

You are but ill informed for a great miniſter when you ſay, that this general whom you condemn, demanded a hundred thouſand men from cardinal Fleury. I can aſſure your eminence, that he demanded only fifty thouſand to march to Vienna, and among theſe twenty thouſand horſe. He only obtained thirty-two thouſand in all, of which but eight thouſand were horſe. But even theſe, with the troops of the allies, compoſed a force which nothing ſeemed capable of reſiſting, inaſmuch as

the

the enemy had not as yet aſſembled an army. On this point of hiſtory, I could inform your eminence of many things which you do not appear to know, and which would convince you that the man you affect to deſpiſe, was very worthy of your eſteem.

As I am ſtill alive, I dare not uſe the ſame freedom with you who are dead, and may ſay every thing with impunity: but I may venture, at leaſt, to give you a few particulars relating to the ſiege of Prague, which will make you change your opinion. You cannot deny that the ſallies were real battles, and that the retreat was glorious.

I know not what harm the cardinal de Fleury and the general you mention may have done you: but it appears to me, Sir, that a good chriſtian as you ought to have been, and a cardinal as you certainly was, ſhould on his death-bed have been reconciled with his enemies. Your Teſtament ſeems to me to have been compoſed *ab irato*; a circumſtance which alone is ſufficient to leſſen its authority.

This Teſtament will be more uſeful to politicians than to hiſtorians. The teſtator is far from falling into the abſurd errors of the forger who aſſumed the name of the cardinal de Richelieu. This bungling forger, in making the greateſt miniſter in Europe ſpeak, at the very criſis of the war between the king of Spain and the emperor, ſays not a word of the manner in which France ſhould have conducted herſelf with her allies, and her enemies. It was a ſtrange inconſiſtency to ſee the cardinal de Richelieu paſs over in ſilence the negociations, and the intereſts of all the princes, in order to talk of the univerſity and taxes. In this Teſtament the caſe is quite the reverſe. The author enters into the intereſt of all the potentates; aſſigns to each his particular ſhare; diſpoſes of the world at pleaſure; and puts himſelf in the place of Providence. He talks of all that might have been done, and of all that could poſſibly happen: his work is a collection of future contingencies.

There is not a ſimple or common thought in the whole of this Teſtament. It is there ſaid, that when the

the emperor Charles VII. was without dominions, and without an army, he ought to have put the queen of Hungary to the ban of the empire. It ſhould ſeem, however, that when a monarch paſſes ſuch a ſentence, he ought to have a hundred thouſand bailiffs to publiſh it to the world.

For the reſt, never did Teſtament contain more conſiderable legacies. The cardinal gives and bequeaths Bohemia to the elector of Saxony; the duchy of Zell to the duke of Cumberland; Tirol and Carinthia to the elector of Bavaria; Briſgau, with the Foreſt-towns, to the duke of Deux-Ponts; and the duchy of Deux-Ponts to the elector palatine. This is not unlike the teſtament which Ceriſantes the Gaſcon made at Naples in the time of the duke of Guiſe. He bequeathed to that prince his jewels and his gold plate, an hundred thouſand crowns to the Jeſuits, and the ſame ſum to an hoſpital.———He likewiſe founded a college and a public library.

He had not wherewithal to defray the expences of his funeral.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CAMBRIDGE

End of the Fourteenth Volume.